THE

JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

With which are incorporated the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology

January 1931

JANUARY 15

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JANUARY, 1931

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JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

1931

PART I.—JANUARY

Assyrian Prescriptions for Diseases of the Ears

BY R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON

THE following translations are from the texts in my *Assyrian Medical Texts* for sick men suffering from ear-trouble.[1]

No. 80. ***AM***. 34, 4 (K. 2422) + 37, 2 (K 7096 + 9059 + 11916 + 16434) + 35, 4 (K 10787) + 4, 7 (81-7-27, 61, already translated as a fragment, No. 14, ***PRSM***. 1924, 15); *AM*. 33, 1, and 34, 1 (K. 3215 + 3666 + 8109 + 10453) + 36, 1 (K. 3696 + 7221 + 10767 + 11788) + 12, 2 (K. 10019) + 34, 5 (S. 379); ***AM***. 97, 6 (K. 3486); ***AM***. 38, 4 (K. 6661) + 37, 10 (K. 10498) + 38, 1 (K. 13492). From an examination of these four pieces of tablets it seems reasonably certain that they form parts of the same original whole. At the same time it should be observed that *AM*. 37, 2, *rev*., has three air holes in the body of the text, and that these occur in the others only in the vertical lines which divide the columns. Three of the above are in ***KMI***. 18, K. 6661, K. 10498, and 19, S. 379.

Obverse. *Col*. I. (*Here* (?) *is* ***AM***. 97, 6)

1. [If the hand of a ghost seizes on a man], either during the practice of the physician's ministrations (upon him) or

[1] For abbreviations see *JRAS*. 1929, 801.

during the practice of . , seed of lupine, *Calendula, *Chrysanthemum segetum , mustard (?), seed of tamarisk, alum, these seven drugs thou shalt pound, [strain] in wine he shall drink and [recover]

5 *Calendula *Chrysanthemum segetum [1] lupins hellebore, mustard, *Solanum seven drugs for the hand of a ghost

7 Lupins *Calendula *Chrysanthemum segetum mustard, hellebore seed of [tamarisk (?)] *Cannabis Asa foetida (sulphur) Asa foetida (Indian) *mint twelve drugs for [the hand of a ghost (?)]

9 Charm (unintelligible to me cf. KAR 182 7)

10 This charm over the drug(s) for the hand of a ghost thou shalt recite

11 If a ghost seizes on a man the blood of a kid (?) if ditto *marmitu* plant if ditto *marmitu* plant if ditto *marmitu* plant

15 If ditto ten shekels of
(Here is AM 33 1 after a gap)

1 a ghost gum of *Aleppo pine lupins *Artemisia* in the water of these aromatics thou shalt bang (?)[2] oil of myrrh on [his] temples

7 If ditto cedar cypress *Acorus calamus (?) these eight drugs together in *kurunnu* (?) beer [he shall] drink, with sulphur bitumen[3] thou shalt fumigate him [4]

11 If when the hand of a ghost seizes on a man [his]

[1] Written *[illegible]
[2] To be read as [illegible] but doubtful
[3] This broken group has all the appearance of [illegible], an expression unknown to me perhaps synonymous with the well known [illegible] 'dung of the river' which I take to be asphalt or bitumen JRAS 1924 [illegible]
[4] Probably followed by [illegible] See PRSM 1926, 67, n 2

ears [sing (?)] *liquidambar, horse-hair,[1] , blood of a snake, *kukku*-plant (?), semen (?) , he shall put[2] his fingers in his ears, and [shall say] ' Wherever thou be, may Ea res[train (?) thee[3]] ' After it with the tooth of a female ibex,[4] the horn of an ox, [thou shalt fumigate (?) his ears]

17 If a ghost seizes on a man and his ears [sing (?)], roses horse-hair

19 with a bronze tube

20 If the hand of a ghost seizes on a man and his ears sing myrrh thou shalt bray roll up in wool sprinkle with cedar blood recite thereon the charm (called) *A KIR GAB* hath [Ea] made

22 Charm *A KIR GAB* hath Ea made the sand [5] may the stone [6] protect him may the stone give him inunction [7] may the stone him may the stone ' anoint him Recital of the charm Thou shalt recite this charm three times over the roll(ed up wool and) put (it) in his ears

24 If ditto thou shalt bray fir turpentine mustard hellebore *Ricinus* *Calendula* *Chrysanthemum segetum*

[1] See note to l 29

[2] *I rit* used also of putting a peg in a wall (Meissner *Alth Privatr* 12, n 2)

[3] *Lik* [*le ka* ?]

[4] *Sa par li* which settles the reading *sappartu* not *lappartu*

[5] *IM MA AN NA TI KU A* Cf my *On the Chemistry* 13 and for the phrase *AM* 37 2 r 6 (Col ii 6) The reference appears to be to the *KIR GAB* which Ea has made of which the sand (as coming from Ea s domain) is part Possibly the explanation is that the unstable sand represents the evil just as the stone which is to guard the patient, represents the beneficent power to heal

[6] The stone must have been quoted in the lost part of the prescription

[7] *Li si-kip-ka* cf Syr *kukkipha* unctio

lapis, *Lolium*, mix in cedar-oil, roll up in wool, put into his ears, and he shall recover: If ditto, thou shalt bray **Anorus calamus* in oil, put into his ears.

28. If ditto, thou shalt bray together myrrh, powdered arsenic,[1] lapis lazuli, "green stone,"[2] mix (it) in cedar-oil, put (it) into his ears, anoint his lobes (?)[3]

29.[4] If, when the hand of a ghost seizes on a man, his ears sing, thou shalt fumigate his ears with seed of juniper, seed of laurel, *liquidambar male and female,[5] horse-hair,[6] glue (?),[7] by means of fire.

30 If, when the hand of a ghost seizes on a man, his ears sing, thou shalt fumigate the interior of his ears with laurel-root, *liquidambar, glue (?), by means of fire.

[1] *šaAŠ.GR UR*, arsenic, probably powdered (see my *On the Chemistry*, 49).

[2] Dr. Arnold Chaplin has suggested to me that it might be verdigris, which is probably not far off the truth, but since it is used here with lapis lazuli, it is more probably some natural deposit containing copper. Verdigris, the sub-acetate of copper, is used as a stimulant to foul and indolent ulcers (Squire, *Comp. to the Brit. Pharmac.*, 18th ed., 465). Cf. *KAR* 196, 32 213, 29 *AM* 29, 2, 9

[3] The word which I have translated "lobes" (?) is literally "flesh", but the dual mark after it must surely have some significance. Cf., however, *AM* 49, 2, 2, where it cannot mean "lobes"

[4] This is a duplicate of *AM* 33, 1, 5 (No. 81), and 29, 2, iv, 1 (No. 82), the difference being trifling, except in one point, which is that the first drug or **šuprâtu* varies with *ṣe ṢU*' *MAŠ* (*MAT*, by scribe's mistake, in the second instance), which goes to show that the two are synonymous. Read also in *AM* 36, 2, iv, i, rev, for scribe's error, *KA*.

[5] See *JRAS*, 1924, 454, where the "male" is explained as being "like tamarisk bark, massed and red", and the female "like tamarisk bark, fine and yellow"

[6] *KU*-*pu*, varying with *sap pu*. *AM*. 38, 2, r. iv, 2. For *sappu* "hair", the Syr. *sappâ*, see *PRSM*. 1924, 11, n 5, to which should be added that Ungnad, *ZDMG*. 1923, 83, read the word as *sappu* "Mähne", without giving a Semitic comparison. In l. 35 it would appear that there is a variant form *ṣa-ap-pi*, cf. *KAR*. 191, iv, 8, *ṣa-ap-pi šaḫî*.

[7] *KU.NIK.IR.SU LAL*, *JRAS*. 1924, 453, n. 1.

31.[1] Thou shalt fumigate the interior of his ears with fir-turpentine, pine-turpentine, myrrh, cedar, **Acorus calamus*, **Ferula communis*, roses, *mercury, eight drugs (as) a purification (?) for ears, by means of fire.

---

33. Thou shalt fumigate the interior of his ears with *misy* (sulphate of iron),[2] hart's-horn, human bone, kelp (?), bone of a *MUḪ.TUL.BI* (mole ?),[3] **Ammi*, by means of fire.

---

35. Thou shalt fumigate the interior of his ears with sulphur, fennel, laurel-root, horse-hair,[4] glue (?), by means of a thorn fire.

---

36. Thou shalt fumigate the interior of his ears with hart's-horn, alum, [**Amm*]*i* (?), *Lolium*, kelp (?), sulphur, human bone, by means of a thorn fire.

---

38. If a man's ears sing, thou shalt roll *Agrostis*, (and) fir-turpentine in wool, put (it) into water, boil (it) on the fire, put (it) into his ears, and he shall recover.

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40. If a man's ears sing, thou shalt mix cedar-" blood " with pomegranate-water and put (it) into his ears, and he shall recover.

---

41. Charm (*unintelligible to me*). Recital of the Charm.

Col. II. *AM*. 37, 2, *rev.* (K. 7096) + 4, 7 (81-2-27, 61, but surface on this side entirely broken away) + 34, 4, *obv.* (K. 2422); then after a gap, 34, 5 (S. 379) + 36, 1, *rev.* (K. 3696) + 35, 2 (K. 3215).

[1] Duplicate of *AM*. 35, 1, 7 (No. 81); 38, 2, *r*. 9 (No. 82); and *KAR*. 202, *r*. iv, 33 (except that in this latter there is a slight variation in the order, and an additional drug, *išuadu*); cf. also Col. ii, 15 (5), and *KAR*. 202, iv, 14.

[2] See my article, *PRSM*. 1926, 28, n. 2.

[3] See my article, *PRSM*. 1924, 14, n. 3. Mr. Gadd (*Liverpool Annals*, 1926, 128) suggests " mole ". Cf. *MUḪ.TUL*, *CT*. xxvii, 22, 11.

[4] See note to l. 29.

1-2. (*Here is AM. 37, 2, reverse.*) (Charm) Recital of the Charm.

3. [Incantation for] when a man's ears sing.

4. . . . powdered arsenic . . . in blood of cedar thou shalt mix, [roll up] in wool, put into his ears.

6. (*Charm*) . . .[1] Recital of the Charm.

7. [Incantation for] when a man's ears sing.

8. . . . powdered arsenic (and) °liquidambar in oil thou shalt mix, let (it) stand under the stars,[2] [recite] the charm three times [over it], (and) put it [into his ears].

[1] Read *IM. MA AN. NA TI. KU A*, with *AM*. 33, 1, 22.

[2] *Tas UL tal uz*. *Tal uz* is the correct reading, as E. (xiii, 15, n. 4) pointed out from "an unpublished text" (probably my *AM*. 85, 3, 4), *tas UL ud uz*. E. would make *UL* = "Glut" (?) ("in die Glut (?) Stellen"), or "Herd" (*Liebeszauber*, 30, 1 25), but I cannot agree with this, finding, for one thing, that it is a little difficult to understand.

Küchler (p. 67) showed that *UL* varied not infrequently with *MUL* in this phrase (as also occurs in *AM*. 62, 3 r. 6, as well as 14, 5, 5, where there are definite traces of *MUL*, and also Weidner, *Keilschrifturk. aus Boghazk.*, iv, No. 48, 14), and he translates "beim Herankommen des Sternbild(es)". The phrase is habitually preceded by drugs put into some fluid (oil, water, beer), and constantly followed by directions to use it "in the morning" (once with the addition of *ina muši* "in the night" to the phrase in *KAR* 191, *obv*. 7, dup. of *AM*. 70, 5, 8, No. 193). This would surely show that some point of time in the evening was indicated, and since *UL* (like *MUL*) = *kakkabu* "star", we may follow Küchler in seeing in *UL* the idea of "star". The point is that the drugs are allowed to steep for a night, not necessarily put under the stars as an offering, which would be *ana* or *ina pân*, rather than *ina*, as in the case of the Goat star, *AM*. 103, 3, *obv*. 6, etc., and Ishtar, *AM*. 87, 1, 14, but rather at the time when the stars come out (cf. *AM*. 39, 1, 7, "in the morning without a meal he shall drink"). Interesting comparisons are found in the latter part of *SM*. ii (receipts which often show great similarity with the Assyrian), p. 658, "set it under the stars during the night of the fourth day in three consecutive weeks, and afterwards rub the mixture on his head"; p. 663, "set it in the sun until it becometh thick like honey", p 672, "let the mixture remain all night under the stars, and let the patient drink it in the morning"; p. 673, "let the patient drink it in the morning when fasting." As a translation I would suggest tentatively "let (the mixture) stand during the time of the stars" (retaining in the text "let it stand under the stars").

Charm [1] mayst thou bless (?), mayst thou bless (?), mayst thou bless (?) Let not approach them! Recital of the Charm

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13 [Incantation for] when a man's ears sing

---

14 thou shalt bray together myrrh (and) *mint, mix (it) in blood cedar roll up in wool put (it) into his ears

---

16 Charm (*unintelligible to me*) Recital of the Charm [2]

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18 three times [his right ear (?)] three times his left ear thou shalt fumigate

(*Here is AM 34 4 obv K 2422 after the gap left by the broken face of AM 4 7 81 7 27 61*)

By heaven be thou exorcised by earth be thou exorcised!

4 three times (?) into his right ear three times into his left ear thou shalt recite

5 [Charm] ? Recital of the Charm

7 [Incantation for when] his right ear whispers [3]

8 [Charm] ? Recital of the Charm

10 [Incantation for when] his left ear whispers

11 turmeric

(*Here is AM 35 2 (K 3215) 34 5 (S 379) + 36 1 rev (K 3696) after a gap*)

[1] *ŠA RA RA ŠA RA* *ŠAG GA ḪE A Is this first word connected with *ŠA RA* (Reisner *Hymnen* 73 3) = *abâl* remove bring (parallel with *ušâbi* in the preceding line)?

[2] For *pa-tar ri* (*PA TAR RI* ?), cf *pa-ta-ar ri*, *AM* 35 1 2

[3] *La-aḫ-ša*, presumably a permansive form like *limnatuna* (*Maqlu*, v 140), from the Heb *lâḥaš* Cf *SM* ii, 111 and there arise inside the ears sounds and singings and whistlings."

1. . Thou shalt sprinkle wool once,[1] twice, thrice, thou shalt put (it) into his ears [and he shall recover]

2. If a man [fire][2] extends[3] into the interior of his ears, and it dulls the hearing thou shalt mix one shekel of pomegranate-water , two [4] sprinkle (it) on wool, put (it) into his ears for three days thus [5] On the [fourth] day the pus which com[es out] thou shalt remove, and cleanse (the ear) As the pus exudes[6] and [is deposited], thou shalt bray alum (and) blow (it) into his ears [through] a reed tube an[d] he shall recover]

6. If fire extends into the interior of a man's ears, and his hearing is dull and it retains its hold (?)[7] thou shalt apply oil of juni[per and] oil of [8]*Acorus calamus* to his head, sprinkle (it) [on] wool once twice thrice thou shalt put (it) into his ears [and] his hearing shall be opened He shall eat *Lolium* to which nothing has been added in wheaten bread [and shall recover]

9.[9] If in his weakness fire extends into the interior of a man's ears and his ears (hearing) are dull [8]crane-grease[9]

[1] Re-examined text or *I* [illegible] probably (Y 1 ")

[2] *BIL* as in *CT* xxi 23 1 *JSI* 1908 33" If a man's skull holds fire and in several passages nearly parallel to the present text in *KAR* 202 r i 42 47 [illegible] where fire [c]an spread to practically any part of the body must mean heat or inflammation

[3] *Ippuš* is from *napāšu* (Y *KAR* 202 r iii 3" If a man is sick and his sickness extends [illegible] his head

[4] Obscured [illegible]

[5] Re-examined text apparently as I have given it We should expect shalt thou do

[6] [illegible] cf *AM* 34 5 9 36 1 r 5 (= 1 15 below). For pus exuding from ears see receipts in *SM* ii 114 ff especially the one prescribing burnt alum

[7] *LL* as (?), i.e. [illegible], on the analogy of the use of *LL* = [illegible] in medical texts The subject is probably [illegible] fire

[8] Dup. *KAR* 202, iii, 80, which shows by comparison that *KIT* = [illegible], confirming [illegible] Cf *CT* xxiii, 38, 20, dup. *TCPP*., [illegible] 31, and *KAR*. 202, iii, 42, *AM* 17 9 6

[9] See *JRAS* 1925, 330

thou shalt put into his ears, and his hearing will be lightened[1]; thou shalt crush male mandrake-root,[2] put (it) into his ears, and he shall rec[over].

11.[3] If a man's ears hurt him as though it were the hand of a ghost (*here is AM.* 34, 5), and makes him swell,[4] thou shalt compound[5] separately oil of *opopanax, oil of **Acorus calamus*, oil of pine-turpentine, mix together, put into his ears; thou shalt roll up a lump[6] of nitre[7] in wool, put (it) into his ears. Thou shalt mix sweet *U.SA* beer, flour of *Lathyrus* (chick-peas), flour of fenugreek, wheaten flour, . . . flour of roses, flour of cedar in beer, [apply, and] he shall recover.

15 (5).[8] If a man's ears are affected [and the interior] of his ears makes him swell with offensive foetor,[9] pricking him

[1] *I-ḳal-lil*, variant in *KAR.* spelt with *Br.* 6698.

[2] See, in addition to *AH.* 187, *JRAS.* 1926, 100.

[3] Practically duplicate of *KAR.* 202, iv, 12, for the first part. My text is completed from the join, *S.* 379, pl. 34.

[4] *U PAḪ-šu*, *KAR.* has *u PA PA -šu*, i.e. *unappaḫ-šu*. Cf. l. 15, where it is augmented by *bi-'-ši* ("with offensive foetor").

[5] *Ta-raḳ-ka*, Heb. *rāḳaḥ* "compound (ointment)", less probably *râḳu* "beat". Cf. Senn. (Layard, 42, 50) *šaman* *šamerdi u ḫibiḫti uraḳḳa*, enlarged in King, *CT.* xxvi, Col. viii, 71, *šaman* *šamerdi u ḫibiḫti ša* *šamkirbi ṣêri ša abburti uraḳḳid* ("almond oil and gum I compounded, etc.") (for *ḫibiḫti* "gum" see *JRAS* 1924, 455). If the sense "compound" is taken in the medical receipt above, it must, of course, be understood as preparing each oil separately.

[6] *RID*, i.e. *kurban*. *Kurban* (or *kirban*) *ṭâbti* may be spelt with or without the determinative *U* (see *SAI* 4283) and is discussed by Küchler (with *kirbanu*) (*Beitr.* 125), he adducing *kurbâni ša abari* "lumps of antimony" (Tiglath-Pileser, v, 39) as an example. *Kurban ṭâbti* occurs also in *AM.* 52, 1, 16, *KAR.* 202, *r.* iv, 1, and 13, and *AM* 56, 1, 5, while in *AM.* 35, 2, 11, the present text (part dup. of *KAR.* 202, *r.* iv, 12), the variant is *kurban MUN EME.ŠAL.LIM* (nitre). See also the note on *kirbanu*, No. 80, Col. iii (41 ff.).

[7] *MUN.EME.ŠAL.LIM*, *JRAS.* 1924, 454; *KAR.* simply "salt". Cf. *SM.* ii, 115, for ears "which discharge pus, and have worms", where alum and "Cappadocian salt" in old wine are prescribed.

[8] The prescription is very similar to *KAR.* 202, *r.* iv, 14.

[9] *Bi-'-ši*, *KAR.* *bi-ši*. Cf. *SM.* ii, 114, "For ears which are swollen and stink"; and cf. also *CT.* xxiii, 36, 58, *bi-'-[ši]*, as in l. 64.

(*here is AM.* 36, 1, *rev*) [1] hurts him, and [he cannot rest(?)],[2] [thou shalt pound] (and) strain pine-turpentine, fir-turpentine, myrtle [3] **Ferula communis*, roses (?),[4] potash,[5] *mercury, fumigate [6] (therewith) the interior of his ears over a thorn fire this for [three days thou shalt do (?)], and on the fourth day thou shalt cleanse the interior of his ears. [as the pus] exudes and is deposited [7] thou shalt bray alum, (and) blow (it) [into] his ears through a reed tube

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20 (10) [If from the interior] of a [man]'s ears pus [8] comes, thou shalt mix together blood from the kidney of an ox, and blood of cedar and pour (it) into his ears [9]

Col III *AM* 36 1 (K 3696) 12 2 (K 10019) *AM* 38, 1 (K 13492) 38 4 (K 6661) 37 10 (K 10498), *AM* 34 1 *rev* (K 2422) 4 7 (81 7 27 61 No 14) + 37 2 *obv* (K 7096) 35 4 (K 10787)

1 thou shalt pour into his ears water of

2 thou shalt pour [into his ears] water of pomegranate [in oil] of cedar thou shalt mix

3 *kamkadu* plant which (is) like the gall (?) of , (and) the vertebrae of a horse in oil of cedar thou shalt mix

4 thou shalt put into his ears Oil of **galbanum* (and) gall of a frog thou shalt pour into his ears

5 its fat (?) in *crane fat thou shalt mix (and) pour into his ears

[1] [illegible]

[2] *Isukal* (?) from *KAR*

[3] *KAR* omits some of these drugs and some of the latter part of the recipe

[4] *Read* [illegible]

[5] *AM K 41* [illegible] see *RA* 1929 63 n 3

[6] *KAR* – [illegible] by variants *AM* 80 6 6 and 98 1 5 (cf col ii 2 ff)

[7] Read [illegible] (*Br* 1691) re-examined

[8] Cf *AM* [illegible] 11 [illegible] for worms in the ears Take the juice which runneth from the flesh of the bull that is being roasted and strain when warm, and pour into the ear or still better 665 for worms in the ears

[9] Press out the juices from the kidneys of an ox which have been half broiled, [mix] with salt and apply

6. . . . in finely ground flour thou shalt mix, (and) put into his ears

7 thou shalt pound fine, (and) blow into his ears through a reed tube Roses like roast corn thou shalt roast, (and)

8 blow [into] his ears Thou shalt reduce (and) bray oleander (?), (and) blow (it) into his ears

9 [1] thou shalt dry it, (and) pour (it) into his ears. Tannin (?)[2] of the mountains gall of an ass,

10 dog's [dung (?)], thou shalt mix together, (and) put [into his ears] *Salicornia* alkali (and) male and female *lulû*[3] thou shalt roll in wool, (and)

11 put [into] his ears Thou shalt squeeze onions (?) (*or*, garlic, or similar)[4] (and) pour (it) into his ears

12 [If] pus gathers[5] [in] a man's ears, thou shalt pour pomegranate [water][6] into his ears Thou shalt bray *styrax

13 (and) blow (it) into his ears [through] a reed tube Thou shalt bray [oil ?] of cedar oil of (and) cummin,

14 mix [in blood ? of ce]dar (?) roll up in wool, put into [his ears] *Nigella*[7] myrrh fish oil

15 (and) alum (?) thou shalt mix together, put into his ears finely ground flour thou shalt mix ro[ll up in wool], put into his ears

16 [Skin (?)] of pomegranate thou shalt dry, bray, blow into his ears of cedar [gall (?) of a f]rog thou shalt reduce,

[1] *Tu ru a as si lu bu*

[2] *Kam-ka ma la šadi* a reduplicated form from *kammu* ?

[3] Hardly pearl (Virolleaud, *Babyloniaca* iii, 222 *On the Chemistry*, 29)

[4] *SE ŠAR*, or *SE KL ŠAR* (*AH* 124), cf onions, leeks, or garlic for ears in *SM* ii, 112, 116, 117, 665 and goose grease, onions, and garlic in Pliny, *NH* xxix, 39

[5] *Iparrur* Syr *parr, collegavit, coarctatus est*

[6] Probably water in which the astringent rinds have been soaked For pomegranates for ears cf *SM* ii, 116, 665

[7] *SM*. ii, 112.

(*Here is AM.* 12, 2), bray.

17. (and) blow [into] his ears. Oil of cypress thou shalt sprinkle on wool, [(and) put in his ears]. Alum (?) . . . thou shalt put [into] his ears.

18. Myrrh, *GIL* (?) of *styrax dry [thou shalt put] into his ears. . . . Alum (?) . . . thou shalt blow [into] his ears.

19. . . . [tops (juice) (?)] of tamarisk (?), tops (juice) of fir . . . *crane grease,

20. . . . a frog 21. . . . thou shalt put [into] his ears.

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23. . . . of pomegranate. 24. . . . thou shalt put [into his ears].

. . . . . .

(*About this point must be inserted AM.* 38, 1, *Col.* II (*K.* 13492) + 38, 4, *Col.* II (*K.* 6661) + 37, 10 (*K.* 10498):

3. . . . Sh[oemaker's black (?)] . . .

5. If the ears . . . (*here is AM.* 37, 10) fir-turpentine . . . water of pomegranate (*here is AM.* 38, 4) thou shalt heat (?) [1] over a tamarisk fire, thou shalt . . . [2]

7. If (ditto ?) thou shalt bray *lulû*, into his ears thou shalt [put].[2]

8. If ditto, thou shalt parch roses like roast corn, bray (them) put into his ears [and he shall recover].

9.[3] If pus comes into a man's ears, [thou shalt mix] water of pomegranate, scented (?) oil, oil of cedar, [pour into his ears]. Oil of *galbanum, pine-turpentine, gall of a frog into his ears thou shalt pour. *Še-mi* . . . (and) flies' blood together thou shalt mix, into his ears [thou shalt pour].

12. If into a man's ear either water, or blood, or pus comes, thou shalt cleanse the interior of his ears, [alum (?) into his

[1] . . . *sal* ᵘᵐ*urmal ta-ra (?)-ar*; *from arâru* ?

[2] *Tu-sa-* ?

[3] Text here similar to *KAR.* 202, iv, 23, whence the restorations.

ears] by a reed tube thou shalt introduce: the interior of his ears thou shalt wash, and (?) *ṭâbatu*-vinegar (and ?) *enṣu*-vinegar into [his] ears [thou shalt pour].[1] Thou shalt bray . . . , mix in honey, introduce into his ear, roll up in wool, wild honey . . .

(*Here is AM*. 34, 4, *rev*. (*K*. 2422).)

15. If ditto, seed of *Asa foetida* . . . [in] wool thou [shalt roll up], put into his ears.

If ditto, the seed of fir-"turpentine" thou shalt bray, . . . [in wool thou shalt roll up], put into his ears.

If ditto, thou shalt bray parched roses, . . . [in wool thou shalt roll up], (and) put into his ears.

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18. If a man's right ear in fire (?) . . ., that man "has been visiting the Temple of Shamash, (or) Sin"[2], and he speaks and hears what . . . [For his recovery] nitre in oil of cypress, oil of *opopanax . . . pure refined [oil][3] thou shalt put on his head . . . thou shalt repeat it for [seven days], and he shall recover.

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22. [If a man's ear] . . . that man has been "visiting the Temple of Ninurta," and . . . [For his recovery] nitre in oil of *opopanax [thou shalt roll up in wool, put (it) into his ear]: pure refined [oil] thou shalt put on [his head] . . . pine-turpentine . . .: (*here is AM*. 4, 7) thou shalt repeat it for [seven days], and he shall recover.

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[1] This section runs: *Kaumma amelu ina lib uzni-šu lu mê*^{pl} *lu dâmu lu šarku illak(ak) lib uznâ*^{II}*-šu ta-kap-pa[r IM.IŠ.TÀK.KUR.RA ? ina lib uznâ*^{II}*-šu] ina GI.ŠAG.TAR tasarak lib uznâ*^{II}*-šu temissi(si)-[i]m(?)-ma ṭâbati enṣi ana lib uz[nâ*^{II}*-šu tanatak]*. For *DUB* = *sardîbu*, see *PRSM*. 1926, 58, n. 3. For *ṭâbati enṣi*, cf. *AM*. 7, 3, 1 (No. 25).

[2] "To visit the Temple of Shamash" (or Sin, or Ninurta, or Ishtar) would appear to be some technical method of expressing a diagnosis. In ll. (41) ff. it is not improbable that "to visit the Temple of Ishtar" indicates sexual over-indulgence, resulting in loss of physical power. It is therefore possible that to have "visited the Temple of Shamash (or Sin)" indicates exposure to the sun or moon.

[3] Restored from *AM*. 4, 7, 8. See *JRAS*. 1924, 456, for different possibilities.

27. [If man's ear] . . . that man has been "visiting the Temple of Shamash," and . . . [For his recovery] thou shalt bray pine-turpentine (?), roll (it) up in wool, put (it) into his ears [1] [*Lolium* (?)] [2] in wheaten bread he shall eat . . . : thou shalt repeat it for [seven days], and he shall recover.

31. . . . [that man] has been "visiting [the Temple of . . ."], and (but) shall see seven happy (healthy) months [3] . . . thou shalt put (it) [into] his ear ; pure refined oil thou shalt put on his head . . . thou shalt repeat it for seven days, and he shall recover.

34. [If a man's ears have collected] secretion [into a solid] . . . (*here is AM.* 37, 2, *obv.*) . . . sickness, with heat (?) is sick ; that man comes (?) . . . nine [days (?)] . . . he shall see good fortune (health). For his recovery [nitre (?) in] oil of *opopanax in wool [thou shalt roll up, put (it) into his ear] ; cypress-oil thou shalt put on his head. . . . [He should eat] *puhru*,[4] [drink . . .] : thou shalt repeat it for [seven days], and he shall recover

38. [If in a man's right ear] has collected secretion into a solid [5] . . . , it presses on him,[6] that man (*here is AM.* 35, 4)

[1] Read *PI-šu*.

[2] Cf. *AM.* 34, 1, 6.

[3] The sense is uncertain. It can hardly mean "after seven months", as the treatment lasts only seven days.

[4] See No. 81, l. 9, n. 2.

[5] Read *IR* *ana* *kir-bi-na* *ip-hur*. The probability is that *IR* = *irru*, a word occurring in *AM.* 74, iii, 13 as *ir-ru*, since *GIŠ.IR* has the value *irru* (*Br.* 5295) and *IR.DAM* = *irritu ša šabî* (*SAI.* 3734). *KAR.* 159, r. 15, "If a man ditto (unknown) *IR rabiš ubal-šu IR kima mêpl KU* . . ., i.e. there is much *IR* like water ; cf. also *AM.* 83, 2, 10. *CT.* xiv, 32, K. 9061, 2-4, *šammu IR parasi (si)* "drug for stopping *IR*" (the name of the drug being lost). *CT.* xii, 32, 93070, makes *IR* = *izutu*, which is comparable to *IIR.* 62, 50, c, *IR.TA.SUD.SUD* = *nikilpû ša zu'utu* "to come, of sweat". *AM.* 74, iii, 13 (quoted above) is apparently for a blister *ša ši-ra malî*, "which is full of *irru*". *Irru* must therefore mean a watery secretion or mucus, and in the case of the ear the reference is probably to obstruction of the Eustachian tube. *Kirbinu* was taken by

has been "visiting [the Temple of . . .," and (but)] shall [see good] fortune (health). For his recovery thou shalt roll up [a linen pledget],[1] sprinkle (it) with cypress-oil and cedar-oil, put (it) into his ears . . . thou shalt put [on] his head; he should eat [*puḫru* (?)],[2] drink mustard in beer; thou shalt repeat it for seven days, and he shall recover.

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41. [If a man]'s left [ear] has collected secretion into a solid . . . , that man has been visiting the Temple of Ishtar, and (but) he shall see good fortune (health) . . . he shall see[3] . . . For his recovery, thou shalt sprinkle oil of cedar, oil of cypress, oil of **Ferula communis*, oil of [**Acorus*] *calamus*, oil of *opopanax on red wool, (and) put (it) into his ear. Oil of *opopanax [thou shalt put on his head]; he should eat *puḫru*,[2] drink beer: thou shalt repeat it for seven days, [and he shall recover].

45. . . . speaks, *im ḫa mat šu* (? *ku* ?) *šarku ippušu-ni* (?) *aš-rat* [dи] . . .[4]

(*Col. IV* (*here is AM.* 34, 1)

2. . . . water of pomegranate(s) . . . thou shalt wash him (?), sprinkle with oil . . . put on his temples . . .

3. If ditto, thou shalt bray salt, roll (it) up in wool, sprinkle

Küchler (125) to be connected with the *kurbanu* of *kurbâni ša abari* " lumps of antimony" (Tiglath-Pileser, v, 39), and therefore, in the stomachic trouble (Kü. ii, iv, 11) [*Šumma NA* . . .] *rupuštu-šu la ittadi mé ḳiṣirti libbi maris UD.DA.DI.DI libbi-šu kirbinam imaras*, as a euphemism for "Kotballen", which looks very probable. Cf. Scheil, *RA.* xviii, 13, 9, *Šumma NA kirbina imaraṣ* . . . : *AM.* 41, 1, 32, "three potions for *ša kirbinam imaraṣu* him who is sick of *kirbinu*" : *KAR.* 201, 42, . . . *ŠAR. ŠAR-ḫu u-na-pak kir-bi-nu imaraṣ um-ṣa-tum A.DAN* . . . Cf. p. 9, n. [6].

[6] [*Uḫ-te* (?)]-*en-ni-iḳ-šu*.

[1] *Kiš* (re-examined) *ta-ṣap-par*, see *PRSM.* 1926, 66, n. 6.

[2] See No. 81, 9, n. 2.

[3] After re-examination, *KI ša*, and then as text.

[4] Difficult line. Can it be "If the ear rings . . . (?), making (?) pus, [he has been visiting] the Temple of . . ."? Cf. *AM.* 35, 1, 8, 10.

with cypress-oil, put (it) into his ears: cypress-oil on his temples [thou shalt put] . . . hot he shall eat and drink: thou shalt do this for three days and . . .

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5. If ditto, thou shalt bray pine-turpentine, roll (it) up in wool, put (it) into his ears: oil (from the(?)) gum of *liquid-ambar [on his temples thou shalt put] . . . *Lolium* with wheaten bread he shall eat: thou shalt do this for three days and . . .

7. [If ditto], thou shalt sprinkle cedar-oil on parti-coloured [1] wool, [put (it) into his ears] . . . on his temples put and . . .

9. [If ditto], thou shalt sprinkle cedar-oil (and) cypress-oil on parti-coloured wool, [put (it) into his ears] . . . [on] his temples put. Mustard he shall eat . . .

11. If a man's right ear is dull (of hearing), *se-šir-rum* [2]

. .

12. Tamarisk while yet green thou shalt bray, [roll (it) up] in a pledget of linen, [put (it) into his ears].

13. Cedar, pine-turpentine, *Nigella*, . . [thou shalt roll up in wool], put (it) into his ears: oil of . . .

15. Gum of *Aleppo pine, pigs' fat, *BAR.ḪUŠ*-plant, hair of a [virgin] kid [3] [thou shalt reduce, bray, put into his ears].

16. Cypress-oil on wool [thou shalt sprinkle], . . . blood of a "cat of the plain" [4] . . .

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[1] *Pusḫḫu*. Ball, *PSBA* xiv, 1892, 158, was probably right in comparing Syr. *pesḫidpā* "parti-coloured". Torczyner, *DKAW*, 1912, *Altbab. Tempelrechn.*, 126, "Bezeichnung eines Stoffes nach der Qualität."

[2] Uncertain. See *AM.* 33, 1, iv, 3, 58, 1, 5; and note *SE.ŠAR šir-rum*, 61, 3, 8.

[3] See l. 24.

[4] On this see *JRAS.* 1929, 340.

19. Water of pomegranate(s), black salt(petre)[1] . . . a male bat[2] its (?) head . . .

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20. If a man's left ear is dull (of hearing), thou shalt bray myrrh, [roll up in wool, put (it) into his ears] . . . wild honey in fat of a lion (?) . . .

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22. After this a "needle (?)" of antimony . . . cedar-oil . . .

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23. Oil of cedar, *ṭiguḫu*-seed[3] . . . [thou shalt put into his ears].

---

24. Powder of[4] . . .

---

25. (If) his hearing it has affected . . . (*here is AM.* 38, 1, *Col. I*) spelt-flour[5] . . . thou shalt put [into] his [ears].

---

27. Oil in thy mouth into [his] ear [thou shalt blow] . . . thou shalt pour: "shoemakers' black"[6] . . . [into his ear] thou shalt blow.

. . .

[1] On *mil'u* = probably "saltpetre", see my *On the Chemistry*, 28, with which Eisler, *ZA*. xxxvii, 117, agrees.

[2] See *PRSM*. 1926, 55, n. 3.

[3] A bitter seed cultivated round Seruj, apparently like the seed of *Chrysanthemum segetum* or *Anacyclus pyrethrum*, its flour being described as *kime abbulu* (*JRAS*. 1924, 453).

[4] *Siktu* (the *k* appears to be certain from the adjective discussed below). See note to *AM*. 8, 7 (*PRSM*. 1926, 37, No. 33), where instances are given of its use ("of parched corn", "of Lycium" (15 grains)), and cf. *AM*. 95, 3, 13 + 50, 6, 12: "½ *ḳa sikti* of mucilage of sesame, 1 *ḳa* of flour of . . ." What seems to indicate definitely that it means "powder" is the passage *KAR*. 194, i, 39, *ši-ik-ti abnu AD.MAŠ tasalaḫ* "with powder of *AD.MAŠ* stone thou shalt sprinkle". The root is used adjectivally of Lolium (*šammu ši-ku-a-ti*, *AM*. 39, 1, 33, and *ši-ki-te*, *AM*. 81, 1, 4), dried roses (*ši-ku-ti*, *AM*. 75, 1, 31, and *ši-ku-u-ti KAR*. 192, iii, 19). Possibly *sikkatu*, applied to myrrh, *AM*. 69, 8, 11, (dup. 56, 1, *r*. 6) is a form of it, but it is doubtful. Everything appears to point to the words meaning "powder" and "powdered" respectively.

[5] *KU*.bu-ṣu-ṣu.

[6] Cf. *SM*. ii, 114, two drachms each of myrrh, aloes, frankincense, opium, and fresh shoemaker's vitriol in vinegar for a boil in the ears.

29. (*Dup. of KAR.* 202, *r. iv,* 28.) If a man's ears are dull (of hearing), [thou shalt sprinkle] one shekel [of pomegranate]-water [(and) one shekel of *opopanax-water on wool], put (it) into his ear(s): thou shalt do this for three days,[1] [on the fourth day] thou shalt cleanse his [ears], bray alum (and) blow (it) [into] his ears.

---

32. Root of *timri* wood (fennel ?) . . . thou shalt take, while it is yet green thou shalt bray, its water into [his ears thou shalt put ?] (and) his hear[ing] will be opened.[2]

34. Gum of *Aleppo pine, pigs' fat, kelp (?), the hair of a virgin [ki]d thou shalt reduce, bray (*here is AM.* 38, 4, *Col. I*), put into his ears.

36. Onion,[3] tops (juice) of laurel (?) . . . [wh]en he has done this *Lolium*, bread of . . . in beer he shall drink too.

38. A bandage . . . the cloth covers it (?),[4] when thou (?) pourest (?) . . . three days thou shalt keep (it) bound on and he shall recover.

40. . . . thou shalt put into his ears.
. . . thou shalt put into his ears.

---

42. . . . thou shalt put into his ears.
. . . thou shalt pour into his ears.

44. . . . thou shalt put into his ears.

45. . . . thou shal pour into his ears.
. . . thou shalt put into his ears.

(*After a gap is the Reverse of AM.* 97, 4.)

[1] "For three days" omitted in *KAR.*
[2] Reading [*sid*] *su-šu ippite(te)*.
[3] *SE. KL.*, see *AH.* 124.
[4] Or *ku-tal-šu*.

Catch-line of next tablet Enuma ḪUL.GIG[1] . . .
"Second Tablet of the Series 'When a man . . .'"

No. 81. *AM.* 35, 1 (K. 8264)

. . . . . .

---

2. *(Unintelligible to me.)* Incantation for when his ears sing.

---

3. (*Dup. of KAR.* 202, *iv*, 31.) (If a man's ears sing)[2] . . . fat of ox-kidney,[3] gazelle-dung, turmeric, *zabi*-plant,[4] powder of box-wood over a fire thou shalt fumigate his ears.[5]

---

4. *(Unintelligible to me.)* Incantation for when his ears sing.

---

5. (*Dup. of AM.* 33, 1, 28 (No. 80), *and AM.* 38, 2, iv, 1 (No. 82).) Practical prescription for this: thou shalt fumigate the interior of his ears with seed of juniper,[6] seed of laurel, *liquidamber male and female, horsehair, glue (?), by means of fire.

---

6. *(Unintelligible to me.)* Incantation for when his ears sing.

---

7. (*Dup. of AM.* 33, 1, 31 (No. 80, see note thereto) *and* 38, 2, *r.* 10 (No. 82).) Thou shalt fumigate the interior of his ears with fir-turpentine, pine-turpentine, myrrh, cedar, **Acorus calamus*, **Ferula communis*, roses, *mercury by means of fire.

---

8. If a man's right ear "speaks", a "bar" (shutting)

[1] *ḪUL.GIG* = *zêru* (*Br.* 9515 and *SAI.* 7219); *ḪUL.GIG.GA* = *bil* (?)-*la-a-tum* and *pa-aš-ku* (De Genouillac, *RA.* 1913, 72).

[2] *AM.* has [*DÙ.DÙ.BI*] "Practical prescription for this".

[3] *KAR.* adds "male" after *alpu*.

[4] Cf. "root of *sa-bu-* . . .", *AM.* 29, 1, 2.

[5] *KAR.* "fumigate him".

[6] The text of *AM.* 38, 2, iv, 1, here (*mat* and *en* for *man* and *sir*) is as it is on the tablet. *SU.MAN* is thus shown by the variant to be *daprânu*.

affecting him, he shall drink mustard in beer: he shall repeat (it) for seven days and he shall recover.[1]

9. . . . *Lolium*, wheaten bread, *puḫru*,[2] dates let him eat: he shall repeat (it) for seven days, and [he shall recover].

10. If a man's left ear "speaks", a *nisip* of *lamši* (?),[3] dates, *puḫru*,[2] let him eat: he shall repeat it for seven days [and he shall recover].

11. (*Unintelligible to me.*) Incantation for when his ears [sing].

12. [Practical prescription for this]: thou shalt roll up a *kuluttu*[4] in thy left hand, with a finger

13. . . . of copper thou shalt put into his ears . . .

No. 82. *AM.* 38, 2 (K. 239) + *AM.* 42, 4 (K. 3261); *AM.* 37, 8 (K. 14436) may be the end of Col. III. *AM.* 45, 5 (K. 5416, A), appears to be part duplicate, and is included here. This latter has some similarity to *AM.* 87, 1 (K. 2513).

Obverse Col. I (fragmentary incantations, ending with one beginning "Charm: Thou art the evil god who against me hast exalted thyself."[5]).

[1] Cf. *AM.* 37, 2, obv. 7 (No. 80).

[2] *Puḫru* or *buḫru*, a difficult word. Note first in comparison ll. 9 and 10, where it is used in the one passage before the dates, and in the other after; this would suggest it as an eatable substance, and the variability of the position is definitely against it meaning "the whole", or "all", or, connected with *buḫru*, "hot." In *AM.* 35, 4, 7, *puḫra ikkal[lu] šikara išatti[ll]*; 69, 6, r. 5, *šikara ina šatti[šu] puḫrim ikkal[pl] puḫru lusadir*, shows that it is to be eaten at the same time as beer is drunk; 69, 8, 14, *ina šikari u kuki KAT puḫru ('D. DI' kamma* . . .; 23, 3, 8, . . . *tusapir puḫra* . . .; 80, 4, 3, *puḫra ana pi-šu* . . .; 37, 2, 4, . . . *-di puḫra ikkal*.

[3] Text re-examined and correct. Or is it *ni-me-lam ŠI*?

[4] *Kulutta*, unknown to me.

[5] The traces of the first character may have another horizontal wedge within, but it looks like *ur* (*tad, lik, taš*), which makes *taš-na-ḫa-a*. Ll. 15 ff. appear to be duplicate of *AM.* 83, 2, 12.

Col. II (here is AM. 42, 4, obverse, joined to Col. II of AM. 38, 2; dup. of AM. 45, 5, obv. 1),[1]

2. . . . thy [stomach], . . . thy stomach. Whom shall I send [to relieve (?)] thy stomach, to bring hoes of silver and pickaxes of gold, to open the rivers, to open the canals, that its excrement may escape, may come forth, that the windstorm therein may come forth and see the light ? The charm *ul ia-at-tu-un*, it is the charm which Marduk, the priest of the gods, performeth, and I have adopted : O Gula, quicken the recovery and take thy fee. Recital of the Charm.

---

11. Three incantations for a sick stomach.

Reverse. Col. III (here is AM. 42, 4, reverse).[2]

1. Charm : The strength (?)[3] of Anu spawned the heaven . . . settled the herbage, . . . the rainstorm, . . . had been arranged . . .

(*Possibly we should include here the reverse of AM. 45, 5.*)

1. . . . Nin-aḫa-ḳuddu, the mistress of charm. Recital of the Charm.

---

2. Incantation for supporting the stomach.[4]

---

3. Practical prescription for this : thou shalt mix fat of

[1] The composite text runs (numbering as in *AM*. 42, 4): (2) . . . *[libbi]pl-ka* (3) . . . *libbipl-ka* (4) *man-nu lu-uš-pur* . . . *ina lib-bi-ka* (5) *li-iš-ša-a* ^{iṣu}*MARpl* (= *marru*, *SAI*. 4126, cf. 4154, *mar kaspi*) *ša kaspi* (u) *ki-din-ni-e* (v. *gi-dim-me-ti*) *ša ḫuraṣi* (6) *li-pat-ta-a nâripl li-pat-ta-a a-tap-pa-(a)-ti* (7) *li-par-ši-du-(u)-ni lu-ṣu-u-ni zu-(u)-šu* (8) *a-šam-šu-tu(m) ša lib-bi-šu li-ṣa-am-ma* ^{ilu}*Šamaš li-mur* (9) *Šiptu ul ia-at-tu-un Šiptu ša* ^{ilu}*Marduk mašmaš ilânipl iddi-ma ana-ku aš-ši* (10) ^{ilu}*Gu-la bulluṭi-ma ḳišta-ki liḳ(i)* (*TU*).*EN*.

Gidimmeti in l. 5 must be from *gaddmu*. Syr. *g'dam* " to cut off, hack off ". The variant *kidinnu* is difficult. The two natural tools for a Mosul digger would be the hoe and the pick.

[2] *AM*. 45, 5, continues in a different way : (11) . . . *lib-ba-šu ka-si-šu-ma* (12) . . . *ma a-lak-ta-a-šu* (13) . . . *šu ul NIN-šu* (14) . . . *ni u-ba-aḫ-ḫi su-um-ri* . . . (15) . . . *nu* . . .

[3] *Šu-un-du* (?) (re-examined, and apparently correct), cf. *šanudu* " strong ".

[4] In the face of *XIV KU pa-tin-ni* . . . *u-al-lad* (Kö. II, I, 22, *cf*. II, 15), and *ul-šu u-al-lad* (AM, 80 1, 12), *ul-lad* in l. 6 cannot refer to supporting the abdomen of a pregnant woman. The group *ŠA.SI.SÁ* is to be read *kušur libbi* (*SAI*. 6007).

the kidney of a male sheep which has not (*sic*, re-examined) been preserved in salt, malt (?) of a vintner, seed of *pirḫi*-plant with flour: thou shalt tie together fourteen head bands: over the head-bands thou shalt recite the incantation *ullad* and recover.

7. Charm: O support of the stomach, be firm, O ditto be firm, O support of the stomach: above, be firm, O support of the stomach, below, be firm, support of the stomach: be firm, support of the stomach . . . Recital of the Charm.

(*Probably here should be included AM.* 37, 8 (K. 14436) *as the end of Col. III of* K. 239.)

4. . . . Recital of the Charm.

Incantation for when a man's ear's sing.

(*Reverse. Col. IV (here is AM.* 38, 2, *reverse.*)

1. (*Dup.* No. 80, 28.)

3. Charm: (*unintelligible to me*) Recital of the Charm.

8. Incantation for when a man's ears sing.

9. (*Dup.* No. 80, 31, *this having the addition*: "Practical prescription for this" at the beginning.)

11. Charm: It hath flown against me, it hath escaped to earth, it hath attacked me. . . . O seven heavens, seven earths, seven winds, seven hurricanes, seven fires, seven faces, seven backs, seven sides . . . by heaven be ye exorcised, by earth be ye exorcised. Fly away like a bird of the heavens,[1] rise to the sky like smoke,[2] like a rainstorm [disappear] in the ground! May the magic of the Word of the great lord Ea of Eridu be not annulled! Recital of the Charm.

[1] Cf. my *Devils*, ii. 77, 143.
[2] Cf. ib., 73, 88.

18. Charm[1]: O thou that spieth, O thou that spieth, O thou that pursueth, whatever its name, though on earth art seed of the heavens, unto his form as of heaven, come not nigh: like a mountain thou restrainest, his form thou hast troubled . . . O ye four devils of the roads, O ye four devils of the ways . . . get ye to your four quarters, get ye to your four quarters. . . . May Ninurta, lord of the sword, turn you back.[2] O . . (?),[3] by heaven be ye exorcised, by earth be ye exorcised!

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26. Incantation for when a man's ears [sing] . . . three times in his right ear [thou shalt recite] . . .

(*Remainder mutilated.*)

No. 83. *AM.* 24, 3 (K. 10208). (Text also in *KMI.* 18.)

(1 ff. *Mutilated prescription for ears, the medicament being put on wool and inserted in the ears.*)

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7. . . . a lizard of the house-wall in oil . . . and put into the ear . . .

---

9. Thou shalt hollow out (?) a hole (?)[4] in the warmth like a bird's nest, [catch ?] a lizard of the desert which [falleth alive therein], squeeze out the saliva from its mouth, put it on his tooth . . . human tooth (?) (or brain ? skull ?)

[1] The following charm is dup. of *CT.* xvi, 15, iv, 40 ff., which it restores almost entirely.

[2] By combining *CT.* xvi, 15, iv, 56–7, and the present text, we must read *GABA.ZU* (*irat-ka*) *li-ni-'*.

[3] *ḪUL.DUB*, with the value *za-ma-nu* (De Genouillac, *RA.* 1913, 72). Except for *nabnitu*, there is no indication either in this exorcism, or in that of *CT.* xvi, that a special atonement offering or figure is being made.

[4] . . . *mu* (?)-*ša-ši ina išâti tar-ḫad*. Translation doubtful: the rest suggests the hollowing of a trap for a lizard. *Raḫâtu* means "to bubble" (see my *On the Chemistry*, 68); cf. Kû. ii, iv, 24 (spread a medicament on a cloth, bind it on day and night); "he shall drink *Solanum* in beer without a meal; thou shalt boil in water, *tar-ḫat-su*" (end of prescription) where it would appear to have a transitive meaning. But what *tarḫad* (*t*, *ṭ*) means is quite uncertain; it is perhaps חפר "dig", and perhaps *BIL* should be read *digmenu* "ashes".

thou shalt reduce, apply . . . (?)[1] of caper which has not seen the sun [thou shalt put] on his tooth . . . of the right thou shalt roll up in wool, put into his ear: oil . . ., (plant), while it is yet green in a mortar thou shalt bray small . . .

No. 84. *AM.* 35, 3 (K. 8840). (*Perhaps part of same tablet* as 35, 6.)

Obverse.

1. [Incantation] for removing the annoying "Hand of Ishtar".

2. . . . over his ears right and left the Charm three times thou shalt recite, . . . the Charm *Ša-ḫu-u* (?) *ša kakkadi u pibni* (?) *kisadi* . . . cedar- "blood", human semen . . . together thou shalt mix, therein thou shalt put the blood of a goat.[2]

. . . thou shalt anoint him and he shall recover.

Reverse.

2. (*Unintelligible to me.*) Recital of the Charm.

3. Incantation for removing sorcery.

4. . . . his . . . in a *burzi*-vessel thou shalt receive . . . daily thou shalt anoint . . . (?)[3]

No. 85. *AM.* 35, 6 (K. 7624). (*Perhaps part of the same tablet as* 35, 3.)

[1] . . . pi-ul. For the prescription cf. *CT.* xiv, 23, K. 259, 10, and *KAR.* 203, obv. 10, "Root of the (dry, or white) caper which as thou pullest it up does not see the sun: a drug for a decayed tooth, thou shalt dry, bray, mix in oil, put on the tooth." For the use of caper-root on teeth cf. *Diosc.* ii, cciv.

[2] See *JRAS.* 1924, 454, 10, where *BIR.ZU* = *bizzu*, the *ZU* here being explained as idû "to know", i.e. in distinction from the more common "virgin kid" (*NU.ZU.*).

[3] *KUR*-su at end; cf. *AM.* 93, 1, 9, at end.

2. . . . cedar, cedar-blood . . . together thou shalt mix, anoint his ears.

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4. . . . his ears thou shalt anoint.

---

5. (*Uncertain translation, containing the words ipappar, ittanal, la ikalli.*)

No. 86. *AM*. 35, 7 (K. 16767). (*Cf. AM*. 21, 2, and 22, 2.)

1. . . . his eyes "wander", his ears [sing] . . . his head (?) affects him . . . root of thorn and . . . on his neck thou shalt put and he shall recover.

Suggestions for the Use of Latin Character in the Writing of Kurdish

By C. J. EDMONDS

THE Kurdish language resembles the Persian in that it belongs to the Western Iranian group, but is distinguished from it by striking differences of sound, form, vocabulary, and syntax. Before the year 1919 Kurdish was not ordinarily written: only poetry had been to any extent committed to writing, although a newspaper in the Bohtan dialect is recorded to have been published in Cairo and England between 1892 and 1902, and there was a certain amount of journalistic activity in Constantinople about 1912, following the Turkish revolution.[1]

After the armistice of November, 1918, Turkish Southern Kurdistan was included in the territories occupied by the British Expeditionary Force in Mesopotamia. In pursuance of the policy of avoiding military commitments in the hills, a semi-autonomous Kurdish province was formed comprising the whole *liwa* of Sulaimani and the adjoining districts of the present *liwas* of Arbil and Kirkuk. Kurdish was introduced as the written official language of this administration in place of Turkish.

This is not the place to trace the political and administrative fortunes of the territory. Suffice to say that Turkish Southern Kurdistan was finally incorporated in the Iraq state, following the Mosul award of the League of Nations, in 1926; in giving this award the League made certain stipulations intended to ensure the continued official use of the local language in the Kurdish districts.

In the early days even native civil servants and officers had found great difficulty in expressing themselves, but a set official style gradually developed. By 1930 Kurdish has

[1] See *Encyclopædia of Islam*, art. "Kurds", by V. Minorsky.

largely ousted Persian as the medium of private correspondence, and is widely used far beyond the limits of the original experimental province.

The script employed is, of course, the entirely unsuitable Arabic. Arabic and familiar Persian words generally retain their original form, while in distinctively Kurdish words there is a tendency to follow the Turkish practice of using the letter ه to represent *e* or short *a*, and the letters و and ی to represent short *u* and *i*. Actually little consistency is observed, whether in official and private correspondence or in the press. For example, ئگر or ئەگەر will be found alongside of اگر meaning *if*, and the bolder spirits freely introduce ه, و, and ی to represent short vowels in Arabic words, going so far as to write عارەب for عرب.

As early as 1920 the adoption of the Latin alphabet was considered, and the Department of Education in Baghdad even published a small pamphlet, *Kitab i Awalamin i Qiraat i Kurdi*, by two Sulaimani schoolmasters, Muhammad Zaki Effendi and Mirza Muhammad Bashka, assisted by Major E. B. Soane and Captain W. J. Farrel, explaining the proposed system in Turkish and Persian. The matter does not appear to have progressed much beyond this stage; in any case the system recommended would not be satisfactory. It is sufficient to note that the characteristically Kurdish velar *l* and rolled *r*, and the peculiar swallowed *dh* referred to below, are recognized.

The *Short Kurdish Accidence and Syntax* of Sa'id Sidqi (Mulla Sa'id), written in Kurdish, printed at Baghdad in 1928 and adopted by the Iraq Ministry of Education for the fourth and fifth primary classes, admits in addition to the ordinary Arabic alphabet and the Persian additions two consonants, ڤ (ف with three dots) already adopted in Arabic-speaking countries to represent *v*, and ڵ (ل with a dot)

to represent the velar *l* resembling the Russian. Mulla Sa'id also suggests, but does not use owing to absence of type, the diacritical mark ˇ over و and ی to distinguish the open sounds *ǒ* and *ě*, which have quite disappeared in Modern Persian but appear in Kurdish and survive in Persian as pronounced in India. As regards spelling, Mulla Sa'id lays down that Arabic words must retain their Arabic form; in other words also it is unnecessary to represent short vowels (the examples given are the Persian words خدا god, غنچه bud, برنج rice) unless the pronunciation is open to doubt (the examples given are کرد Kurd, and the Kurdish words کور boy and کوور a bitter herb).

The *Kurdish ABC* of Ahmad-i-Aziz Agha (second edition, Baghdad, 1929) follows the system of Mulla Sa'id with the added recognition of rolled *r*: the distinction is again not made in writing owing to absence of type.

An important stage in the development of Kurdish as a written language is marked by the publication in August, 1929, of the first part of a new grammar, *Usage of the Kurdish Language*,[1] by Tewfiq Wehbi Bey, Commandant of the Iraq Royal Military College at Baghdad. This talented officer has succeeded in evolving a system of spelling Kurdish based on the Arabic alphabet, which renders possible the reproduction of the nicest subtleties of Kurdish grammar and opens the road to the satisfactory employment of Latin character. Tewfiq Bey has, moreover, caused to be constructed at his own expense a special type including the new letters required for his publication.

It should be clearly understood that neither Tewfiq Bey's alphabet nor the Latin equivalents I suggest in the following paragraph are intended to be systems of phonetic transcription. The intention is to produce a practical alphabet of reasonable

[1] دەستووری زمانی کوردی. Part i by Tewfiq Wehbi (Haditha Press, Baghdad).

sins which shall be adequate to represent accurately the grammatical phenomena of the language. The systems, nevertheless, are sufficiently accurate phonetically to enable any Kurdish boy or foreigner knowing Kurdish to read any word correctly.

The following table shows Tewfiq Bey's alphabet, the suggested Latin equivalents, and the names of the letters spelt accordingly.

Modified Arabic.	Latin.	Name	Modified Arabic.	Latin.	Name.
ء	'	*Hemze*	غ	*gh*	*ghejn*
ب	*b*	*bê*	ف	*f*	*fê*
پ	*p*	*pê*	ڤ	*v*	*vê*
ت	*t*	*tê*	ق	*q*	*qaf*
ث	*th*	*thê*	ك	*k*	*kaf*
ج	*c*	*cum*	گ	*g*	*gaf*
چ	*ch*	*chum*	ل	*l*	*lam*
ح	*x*	*xê*	ڵ	*lh*	*lham*
خ	*kh*	*khê*	م	*m*	*miim*
د	*d*	*dal*	ن	*n*	*nuun*
ذ	*dh*	*dhal*	و	*w, u*	*waw, 'u*
ر	*r*	*rê*	ه	*h, e*	*hê, 'e*
ڕ	*rh*	*rhê*	ى	*j, i*	*jê, 'i*
ز	*z*	*zê*	ێ	*ê*	*'ê*
ژ	*zh*	*zhê*	ي	*y*	*'y*
س	*s*	*siin*	ۆ	*o*	*'o*
ش	*sh*	*shiin*	ا	*a*	*'a*
ع	'	*'ejn*			

It will be seen that of the twenty-nine Arabic letters (including *hemze*) six disappear entirely: ث, ذ, ص, ض, ط, ظ.

Three letters, representing sounds taken over by the Kurds in rather softened form with the Arabic words containing them, are retained: ح, ع, ق.[1] Similarly, the four Persian additions: پ, چ, ژ, گ and the modern ڤ are retained. Seven letters are entirely new. Of these five represent sounds already noticed in this note: ڊ, ڔ, ڵ, ۆ, ێ. The sixth ٺ represents a swallowed *t* and corresponds to ڊ, as ت to د. The seventh is ى written without dots (alike in the initial, medial, and final forms) and represents both consonantal and short-vowel *i*, which I distinguish in transcription by using *j* and *i*. The letter ي with the dots is reserved for the neutral vowel.

Tewfiq Bey recognizes three double consonants; ند *ndh*, نگ *ng*, and لل *llh*: and three "compound vowels"; ىى *ii* representing long *i*, وو *uu* representing long *u*, and ويى *uy* representing French *eu*. (He has a fourth long compound vowel یو *yu* to represent the sound of German *ü*, but since the sound does not generally occur in Sulaimani it may be treated as a provincialism for *uu*: the peculiar pronunciation can, when necessary, be indicated by writing *ü*.)

Since the letters ى, و, and ى have each a consonantal and a vowel value, thirty-eight Latin symbols are required to correspond to Tewfiq Bey's alphabet of thirty-five letters. These are found by adopting the twenty-six letters of the alphabet, nine digraphs composed of simple consonants combined with *h*, one vowel distinguished by a diacritical mark, the apostrophe and the inverted comma.

My choice of symbols may require some justification. Since the intention was to evolve a system for ordinary

[1] These sounds appear in a very few native Kurdish words.

everyday use and not merely a method of phonetic transcription, it seemed essential to avoid invented letters and, as far as possible, diacritical marks, without sacrificing the accuracy so particularly necessary in Kurdish; no existing letter of the alphabet has therefore been left unused.

Ç for چ has the advantage of corresponding with the Turkish, and unless used here would go begging and necessitate another diacritical mark elsewhere; incidentally, it contributes to uniformity in the construction of the digraphs; *j* is not available. The use of *x* to represent the sound of خ is familiar, but *kh* is adequate for this; and since a distinct symbol is required to represent the allied sound of ح, *x* appears suitable, and moreover, as remarked below, serves to hint at the foreign origin of the sound. In Kurdish words the proportion of vowels and weak consonants to strong consonants is peculiarly high and every available symbol is required for them. To take an example almost at random, *'ew pyawe*, that man, contains, besides inaudible *hemze*, only one strong consonant against three weak consonants and three vowels. I do not therefore suppose that anyone will be disposed to quarrel with my adoption of y as a vowel and of the consonant *j* with its German value.

Of the nine digraphs, in seven the *h* reflects the additional dots on the Arabic letter corresponding to the simple letter to which the *h* is attached, thus :—

ت	*t* has	ت̣	*th*		ج	*c* has	چ	*ch*
د	*d* has	د̣	*dh*		ر	*r* has	ڔ	*rh*
ز	*z* has	ژ	zh		س	*s* has	ش	*sh*
ل	*l* has	ل̣	*lh*					

In the remaining two cases, غ *gh* and خ *kh*, I have preferred to keep the existing convention, though *xh* would have been typographically possible. But the apparent inconsistency is not without its significance. The letters

غ خ represent native Kurdish sounds and are best represented by natural combinations such as *gh* and *kh*, while the corresponding undotted letters of the Arabic script being foreign to Kurdish are not inappropriately represented by distinct and exotic-looking symbols ' and *x*. Thus all the digraphs either correspond to existing convention or, in the case of new letters, satisfactorily suggest the sound to the eye.

The two sounds represented by *th* and *dh* can perhaps best be produced by endeavouring to pronounce *t* and *d* while pressing the tongue against the lower teeth. The necessity of admitting them to independent places in the alphabet is open to argument. They appear to be restricted to part of the Sulaimani *liwa* only and the use of the simple sound in place of them could never be considered incorrect. Nevertheless in and around Sulaimani, the dialect of which is rapidly establishing itself as standard Kurdish, the distinction is very marked.

There is no *shadda* in Tewfiq Bey's script, and double consonants are written twice as in the Latin.

Initial *hemze* need not be written when the Latin character is used, but it is important, for certain purposes, to remember that in theory it is there before the initial vowel.

Where in the same word independent *h* follows a simple letter having a corresponding digraph, a short hyphen would be used to separate the two. Instances must be rare: I have not found a Kurdish example at the time of writing and can only give in illustration the Persian proper name, *Fer-had*, and the Arabic word مجهول (which becomes *mec-huul*), unknown, passive voice.

Of the seven vowels four, *e*, *i*, *u*, *y*, are always short, and three, *a*, *ê*, *o*, are always long; long *i* and long *u* are represented by doubling the letters, *ii*, *uu*; the diphthong which approximates to the sound of French *eu* is represented by *uy*, following Tewfiq Bey's Arabic وی. It is to be noted

that *e* represents the sound approximating to the English short *a* and should be pronounced as in *bat* rather than as in *bet*.

In order that the system here suggested may be adequately judged, three passages of some length are appended to this note. Before they are read, however, five simple rules touching modifications of vowel forms in certain circumstances must be mentioned:—

(*a*) Three of Tewfiq Bey's symbols—ى ,و ,ه—have each both a consonant and a vowel value; he therefore gives a set of rather elaborate rules for distinguishing between them. In the Latin script, where separate symbols are used, little difficulty arises. Briefly, the principle is that no two vowels (except the two members of the recognized "compound vowels") may come together; consequently if *i* or *u* is brought into juxtaposition with another vowel, it is changed into the corresponding weak consonant, e.g. *Kerkuukii*, man of Kirkuk, makes *Kerkuukiyeke*, the man of Kirkuk; and *khanu*, house, makes *khanuwke*, the house.

(*b*) If the weak consonant *j* follows the compound vowel *ii*, the second member of the compound is dropped; e.g. *tancii*, gazelle-hound, makes *tancijan* not *tanciijan*, their gazelle-hound: this spelling actually represents the shortening of the long vowel *ii* before the suffix.

(*c*) The neutral vowel *y* may be dropped between two consonants of which the second is followed by a vowel, e.g. *shywan*, shepherd, has the alternative form *shwan*; and *'asyn*, iron, with the demonstrative adjective makes *'em 'asyne* or *'em asne*, this iron.

(*d*) Initial *hemze* following a word ending in a vowel is sometimes suppressed by contraction, e.g. *ser*, head, and *'ëshe*, ache, make *serëshe*, headache; and *'echym 'e malhewe*, I go home, makes *'echyme malhewe*, or again, by rule (*c*), which now becomes applicable, *'echme malhewe*.

(*e*) The *y* of the imperative prefix *by*, when followed

by the *i* or *j* of the enclytic pronouns of the third person, becomes *i*, e.g. *bykho*, eat! *biikho* eat it! and *bijankho*, eat them!

The measure of the unsuitability of the Arabic script is given by the circumstance that it has only three symbols to represent all vowels and the weak consonants, while the Latin, as here suggested, offers no fewer than nine or, counting the "compound vowels", twelve. In Kurdish, as I have already remarked, the proportion of vowels and weak consonants to strong consonants is high, and careful analysis of vowel sounds is required for the comprehension of the nicer points of the grammar.

Nevertheless, there can hardly be any question of substituting either Tewfiq Bey's system or the Latin character for the Arabic in present circumstances. Religious prejudice against such a change would undoubtedly be strong. Furthermore, Kurdish is now ordinarily written only in Iraq, where the Kurds are a minority and where the official language of the state as a whole is Arabic. Kurdish boys who wish to rise in Government service or are obliged, like men of the hills everywhere, to seek their fortune in the plains of the south, must be proficient in Arabic: there are many Arabic words currently used in Kurdish, and to learn them first in the modified Kurdish alphabet would lead to confusion and the serious handicap of bad spelling. The use of the Latin character for instruction in Kurdish would obviate these disadvantages but would tend to make Arabic, with its different script, even more than at present a foreign language difficult to acquire. Tewfiq Bey's grammar, must, however, be indispensable to every serious student of Kurdish, and to every Kurdish schoolmaster, even though precluded from imparting to his pupils its contents as they stand.

The possibility of using the Latin alphabet has always, since the early experiment of 1920 already noticed, excited keen interest in enlightened Kurdish circles; and indeed several of my friends, having doubtless heard that I was

studying the matter, have recently written to me in Latin character. An increasing number of Europeans, whether civil officials, military and air officers, or servants of the great oil companies, are being brought into contact with Kurds and require to use their language. Use of the Latin character would contribute to rapidity in learning and ensure far greater accuracy than can be attained through the medium of the vague and inconsistent approximations of the Arabic script as used by the Kurds themselves. The adoption of the Latin character by the grown-up intelligentsia for literary and scientific purposes might well give a valuable fillip to Kurdish culture

Example I

Chiroki Merh u Bzyn

Byznêk u merhêk legelh jek dost bun. Byzneke be merhekej wut, "Ewa zystan hat, ba bo khoman khanujêk bkejn, em zystanej tija helh kejn." Merhe wuti, "Myn duugi khom khosh bê le serma natyrsym." Byzneke khanujêki bo khoj duryst kyrd.

Zystan hat. Terh u tuushii w befr u baran desi pê kyrd. Merheke hate laj byzneke, wuti, "Le rhêj khwadha cêgam bkerewe; eger cêgat keme cêj serym bkerewe, cêj duugym mekerewe, jan cêj duugym bkerewe, cêj serym mekerewe." Byzneke bezeji pija hat, cêj ser u niiwej leshi kyrdewe. Shewê le shewan gurgê merhekej frhandh u rhoji. Byzneke le ser eme dergajêki bashi bo khanuwekej duryst kyrd.

Khwan te'ala lem khanwedha chendh bêchuulejêki dhaje. Rhabuurdyni zor bash bu; be rozh echu bo lewerh, êwaran gwan pyrh le shur egerhajewe. Ke echuwe derewe mnalbekani teme ekyrd ke le khoj zijatyr derga le kes nekenewe.

Tumez gurgêki xeramzadhe chawi le bêchwe besezmanekani byzne bêdeselhateke brhi bu. Byzne agaj le Mexmuudhi bê sewadh nebu. Rhozhê le rhozhan ke puure bzyn le derewe bu, mam gurg be helh zani chuwe ber dergakejan. Derga

khil u kulhom kra bu. Le dergaj dha. Karzholekan pyrsijan, "Ewe kêje?" Wuti, "Tiitile w biibilej daje, derga we ken le daje, shiiri spiim le byn gwanaje, gijaj sewzym le byn danaje." Bêchunlekan le kuni dergawe rhwanijan, tê gejishtyn ke eme dajki khojan nije, wutjan, "Dajki ême suure." Gurge chu khoj le qurhe suurewe dha w gerhajewe. Disanewe le dergaj dha, wuti, "Tiitile w biibilej daje, derga we ken le daje; shiiri spiim le byn gwanaje, gijaj sewzym le byn danaje." Karzholekan wutjan, "Dajki ême spije." Gurge chu khoj le gle spijewe dha, gerhajewe ber dergakejan. Wutjan, "Dajki ême dêze." Gurge chu, khoj le kholhe mêshewe dha, gerhajewe serjan. Jekê le karzholekan wuti, "Be khwa, eme dajkmane, ba dergakej lê bkejnewe." We weha dergakejan lê kyrdewe. Gurge lêjan chuwe zhuurê. Bêchuulekani khward u hate derewe. Belham jekê le bêchuulekan ke le hemuujan bchuuktyr bu le gulhbênej tenuura khoj shardbwewe, le kelhbej mam gurg ryzgar buu bu.

Katê dajkekejan hatewe, temashaj kyrd; dergake le ser pyshte, bêchwekani niin dijar. Desi kyrd be qurh pêwan. Ew bêchwe ke khoj shardbwewe desi kyrde myl dajki we be gyrjanewe xikajetekej bo gerhajewe. Byzne hezhareke nej ezani kê em ketnej pê kyrdywe, wuti, "Her kesê emej kyrdybê ebê bgerhêm biidozmewe bangi kem bo sherh legelh kyrdyn ke tolhej lê bsênym."

Hesta le pêsha chuwe serbani khanuj seg, desi kyrd be tepetep. Sege le khwarewe wuti, "Xuu, xuu, xuu! Ewe kêje, le ser ban teptepan eka; kase w kewchkym pyrh le kholhan eka, le miiwananym shermesar eka?" Byzneke wuti, "Maa! Mnym, mnym, myn mnoke, duu shakhym pêweje, bêlh bêlhoke, duu chawym pêweje byz bzoke; kê khwarduuje tiiti myn, kê khwarduuje biibi myn, bête sherh u cengi myn." Sege wuti, "Myn nemkhwarduwe tiiti to, myn nemkhwarduwe biibi to, najeme sherh u cengi to." Lewêwe byzneke chuwe bani khanuj cheqelh, disanewe desi kyrd be tepetep. Cheqelh le zhuurewe wuti, "Iiw! iiw! iiw!

Ewe kêje, teptepan eka, kase w kewchkym pyrh le kholhan eka, le miiwananym shermesar eka ?" Bzyn wuti, "Mnym, mnym, myn mnoke duu chawym pêweje, byz bzoke, duu shakhym pêweje, bêlh bêlhoke ; kê khwarduuje tiiti myn, kê khwarduuje biibi myn, bête sherh u cengi myn." Cheqelh wuti, "Myn nemkhwarduwe tiiti to, myn nemkhwarduwe biibi to ; najeme sherh u cengi to."

Lewêwe chuwe ser bani gurg, desi kyrd be tepetep. Gurgeke le khwarewe wuti, "Huu, huu, huu ! Ewe kêje, teptepan eka, kase w kewchkym pyr le kholhan eka, le miiwananym shermesar eka ?" Byzneke wuti, "Mnym, mnym, myn mnoke, duu shakhym pêweje, bêlh bêlhoke, duu chawym pêweje, byz bzoke ; kê khwarduuje tiiti myn, kê khwarduuje biibi myn, bête sherh u cengi myn ?" Gurgeke wuti, "Myn khwarduume tuti to, myn khwarduume biibi to, dhême sherh u cengi to."

Hestan chune laj qazii. Gurgeke le gelh khoja be dijarii hemanejêki hêna bu ; prhi kyrdybu le fuu ; derkekej tundh bestybu, belham le pêsha denke nokishi tê hawishtybu. Hemanej le ber dem qazudha da na, wuti, "Qazii gijan, em dijarije tuutni Shawure henawmete khyzmetyth." Byznekesh kase mastêki ke le shiiri khoj duryst kyrdybu be destewe rha gyrtybu

Khalho Qazu, chunke dijarii gurgekej la khoshtyr bu, be khyzmethkarekej wut, 'A biikerewe temashajêki bkem." Khyzmethkareke le ber demi qazii dha, derki hemanekej kyrdewe, denkenok der perhii, dhaj le chawi qazii, chawêki kuyr kyrd Desubyrd puure bzyn kasekej byrde pêshewe. Ke qazii emustêki le masteke dha chawi cha bwewe. Emca qazii le ber khojewe wuti, "Ej gurgi zolhek ! shert bê em dakheth pê brhêzhym "

Fermuuj mejdhan rhêk khen bo sherh, we nardi duu shakhi asyn u duu shakhi lbadhjan bo hena. Shakhe lbadhekani kyrd be ser gurgekewe, kiife asniinekani kyrd be shakhekani byznekedha Emca henanje mejdhan, we wuti, "De beengyn." Gurg u bzyn destjan kyrd be sherhe qoch.

Mam gurg le pésha qochêki dha le byzneke, shakhekani nushtajewe. Ke byzneke qochêki dha le wurgi gurgeke drhii. Karzholekan hatne derewe. Dajkjan desi kyrd be lêstnewejan, we lêj pyrsiin, "Rholhe, lekuy bun ?" Wutjan, "Le mali khalhman danuuleman ekhward." Wuti, "Ej beshi myn !" Hemuu be dengê wutjan, "Kyrdme koshym, koshym suuta; kyrdme desym, desym suuta; kyrdme demym, demym suuta." Wuti, "Rholhej dajkiine, ja khwa, be khêr bênewe."

Herwa be jektyr shadh bunewe; mnish hatmewe, hiichjan nedhamê.

TRANSLATION

Fable of the Sheep and the Goat

A goat and a sheep were friends together. The goat said to the sheep: "Now winter has come, let us make a house for ourselves, where we may spend this winter." The sheep said: "All being well with my tail, I am not afraid of the cold." The goat made a house for herself.

Winter came. Wet and bad weather and snow and rain began. The sheep came to the goat and said: "In the way of God, make room for me; if your room is scanty, make place for my head and do not make place for my tail, or make place for my tail and do not make place for my head." The goat took pity on him and made place for his head and half his body. One night of the nights a wolf snatched the sheep and went. The goat thereupon made a good door for her house.

God Almighty gave her some children in this house. Her existence was very good. By day she used to go to graze; in the evening she used to return, the udder full of milk. When she used to go out she used to admonish the children not to open the door to anybody besides herself.

But a base-born wolf had fixed his eyes on the poor young ones of the helpless goat. The goat was not aware of the fate awaiting her. A day of the days when Aunt Goat was out, Uncle Wolf thought it a good opportunity and went to their

door. The door had been locked and barred. He knocked on the door. The kids asked: "Who is that?" He said, "Mother's darlings and sweetings, open the door to Mother! I have white milk under my udder and I have green grass under my teeth." The youngsters looked through the hole in the door; they understood that this is not their mother; they said: "Our mother is brown." The wolf went, smeared himself with brown mud and returned. He knocked again on the door and said: "Mother's darlings and sweetings, open the door to Mother! I have white milk under my udder, I have green grass under my teeth." The kids said: "Our mother is white." The wolf went, smeared himself with chalk and returned to their door. They said: "Our mother is grey." The wolf went, smeared himself with ash and returned to them. One of the kids said: "By God this is our mother, let us open the door to her." And so they opened the door to him. The wolf went into the room against them. He ate the youngsters and came out. But one of the youngsters, who was smaller than all of them, had hidden himself in the flue of the oven, and had escaped from the fangs of Uncle Wolf.

When their mother returned she looked; the door is open, the young ones are not visible. She began to pour dust on her head. That young one which had hidden himself threw his arms around his mother's neck and weepingly related the story to her. The poor goat did not know who has done this mischief to her and said: "Whoever may have done this, I must look for and find him and challenge him to a duel, that I may take vengeance on him."

She got up and first she went onto the roof of the dog's house and began to stamp. The dog from below said: "Bow, wow, wow! who is that stamping on the roof, filling my bowl and spoon with dust and making me ashamed before my guests!" The goat said: "Maa! It is I, I, little I! I have got two horns like two little hoes, I have got two eyes, open wide; whoever has eaten my darling, whoever has eaten my sweeting,

let him come and fight and war with me. The dog said: "I have not eaten your darling, I have not eaten your sweeting; I will not come to fight and war with you."

From there the goat went to the roof of the jackal's house and again began to stamp. The jackal from below said: "Yap, yap, yap! who is that stamping, filling my bowl and spoon with dust and making me ashamed before my guests?" The goat said: "It is I, I, little I! I have got two eyes wide open, I have got two horns like little hoes; whoever has eaten my darling, whoever has eaten my sweeting, let him come to fight and war with me. The jackal said: "I have not eaten your darling, I have not eaten your sweeting; I shall not come to fight and war with you."

From there she went onto the wolf's roof and began to stamp. The wolf from below said: "Hoo, hoo, hoo! Who is that stamping, filling my bowl and spoon with dust and making me ashamed before my guests?" The goat said: "It is I, I, little I! I have got two horns like two little hoes, I have got two eyes open wide; whoever has eaten my darling, whoever has eaten my sweeting, let him come to fight and war with me." The wolf said: "I have eaten your darling, I have eaten your sweeting; I will come to fight and war with you."

They started off and went to the Qazi. The wolf had brought a small skin sack with himself as a present; he had blown it up, and tied the mouth tight, but beforehand he had thrown a single pea inside it. He put the skin down in front of the Qazi and said: "Qazi dear, this present is Shawr tobacco, I have brought to your service." The goat also was holding a bowl of curds which she had made of her own milk.

As the wolf's present was more acceptable to him Uncle Qazi said to the servant: "Here, open it and let me have a look at it." The servant opened the mouth of the skin in front of the Qazi, the pea flew out, hit the Qazi in the eye and blinded one eye. Immediately Aunt Goat carried the bowl forward. When the Qazi took a fingerful of the curds his eye got better again. Then the Qazi said to himself: "O bastard wolf! I swear to take vengeance on you for this hurt."

He ordered the ring to be prepared for the fight and sent to fetch two horns of iron and two horns of felt for them. He put the felt horns on the head of the wolf and the iron scabbards on the horns of the goat. Then he brought them into the ring and said: "Off! fight!" The wolf and the goat began to have a bout of butting. Uncle Wolf first butted the goat, his horns bent. When the goat gave a butt in the belly of the wolf, he ripped it. The kids came out. Their mother began to lick them and asked them: "My pets, where were you?" They said: "We were eating porridge at our uncle's house." She said: "And my share?" They all said with one voice. "I put it in my shirt tail, my shirt tail burnt; I put it in my hand, my hand burnt; I put it in my mouth, my mouth burnt." She said: "Mother's pets! O God! May you be welcome."

And so they rejoiced over each other. I too have returned and they gave me nothing.

Example II

Dwanze Swarej Meriwan

Egérhnewe ke le zemani xakmêtii Brajim Pashaj Bebedha, ke ew xele le Qelha Chwalan da nishtybu, Nadhyr Shaj Êran be leshkrêki dwanze hezar kesjewe wistybuj be ser wulhati Bebedha cha bauré behête ser shari Mussylh, ke ew deme be des Tyrkekanewe buwe. Nadhyr Sha kheberêki nardybu bo Brajim ke rhégaj bdhatê be ser wulhati Kurdekana behête ser Mussylh, ke bugrê. Brajim Pasha lew serdemedha legelh Tyrkekan dost bu. Uge leme be shuni ezani ke leshkri bégane be ser wulhatja bythwa. Em teklifej pesendh nekyrd, cwabi narhezaji bo Nadhyr Sha nardewe. Nadhyr Sha le ser eme zor dylhgur u zor bu, we wuti. "Her ebê be ser wulhati Bebedha brhom." We bem core qerari dha.

Brajim Pasha kheberi wer gyrtybu ke chy rhozhê Êranijekan xereket eken. Desubyrd leshkrêk ke be destewe ebê koj ekatewe. Dwanze swar ke zor dynjadiiw u shareza bun kyrdni be pêshrhewi em leshkyrej khoj. Emane le pêsh

leshkyrekewe be ghar erhon we le niiwej shewdha egene leshkrekej Nadhyr Sha, ke le deshti Meriiwan helhjan dha bu. Her dwan dwan u sjan sjan ebyne destejêk, le rhast u chep u pysht u pêsh dewrej leshkyreke edhen, we le hemuu lajekewe ejkene hera w desrêzh.

Be helhkewt ew shewe zor tariik u nuutek u befr u baran ebê. Be cheshnêk serjan lê eshêwênyn ke leshkyreke wa ezanyn ke quwetêki zor dewrej dhawyn. Be rhengêki wa shêwan ke dost u dyzhmynjan pê lêk nekrajewe. Pelamari jektyr edhen. Ew shewe ta beri bejan le naw khojana le jektyr kushtar eken. Qelachojan khystanaw khojan.

Ke dynja rhuunak ebêtewe ebiinyn ke gelekjan le jektyr kushtuwe, zor shpyrze bun we pelupoj xereket u hêzi beramber westanjan nemawe ; be nacharii egerhênewe dwawe.

Em azajije her le lajeni em dwanze swarewe krawe. Xele ke leshkrekej Brajim Pasha egat temasha eken ke leshkyri Êran hiichjan nemawe we zor pêjan nakhosh ebê ke be ser hewari khaliidha egen.

Translation

The Twelve Horsemen of Meriwan

They relate that in the time of the rulership of Ibrahim Pasha Baban, who at that epoch resided at Qala Chwalan, Nadir Shah of Persia with an army of twelve thousand persons had wished to traverse the Baban country and march against the city of Mosul, which at that moment was in the hands of the Turks. Nadir Shah had sent a message to Ibrahim to give him passage through the country of the Kurds, for him to march against Mosul, to take it. Ibrahim Pasha at that particular moment was friendly with the Turks. Apart from this he thought it disgraceful that a foreign army should go through his country. He did not approve of this demand and sent an answer of refusal back to Nadir Shah. Nadir Shah for this reason became very annoyed and upset, and he said : "I must nevertheless go through the Baban country." And thus he decided.

Ibrahim Pasha had received information as to which day the Persians are to start. As quickly as possible he collects an army such as can be got. He made twelve horsemen, who were very experienced and acquainted with the ground, the advance-guard of this army of his. These gallop in front of the army and in the middle of the night reach the army of Nadir Shah, which had camped in the plain of Meriwan. They form sections by twos and threes. They surround the army to right and left, in rear and in front, and shout and fire volleys from every side.

By chance that night is pitch dark with snow and rain. They confuse them in such a way that the army think that a very large force has surrounded them. They were confused in such a way that friend and enemy could not be distinuished by them. They attack one another. All that night till dawn they make a slaughter of each other among themselves. They reduced themselves to exhaustion.

When it gets light they see that they have killed many of each other, they have become very demoralized and ability to move and strength to resist has not remained. They are obliged to retreat.

This brave deed was performed by these twelve horsemen only. When the army of Ibrahim Pasha arrives they see that none of the Persian army have remained and they are very sorry that they find an empty camp.

Example III

From "Usage of the Kurdish Language," by Tewfiq Wehbi Bey

(a) Edati nida dengèke ke bo pishandhani xissêki weku khoshu, 'achatu, pzhare, tyrs . . . . htd: be kelhk ehênrê. Emane legelh kelimekanityri cumledha laqejèkjan nabê; weku

Aj! le biirym chu.
Okhkhej! rhyzgar bum.
Of! le des to wekhte sbêt bym.

Lem cumlanedha "Aj!" bo 'acbatii, "Okhkhej!" bo khoshii, "Of!" bo pshare be kelhk hênrawyn.

(*b*) Bonawi lêkdher emanen: ke, -i; weku:—

Myn le khanweke ke par êwe krhiitan da nishtuum.

Ew pjawej bêredha rha burd nasjawym bu.

Emane ew mnalhanen ke duyne le imtixan der chun.

Le cumlej jekema duwem "ke" bonawi lêkdhere; chunke cêj nawi "khanweke" egrêtewe we cumlej "myn le khanwekedha da nishtuum" -i be cumlej "êwe par krhiitan" -ewe nuusandhywe. Le cumlej duwema "j" -i dwaj "ew pjawe" bonawi lêkdhere, chunke cêj "ew pjawe" egrêtewe we cumlej "ew pjawe bêredha rha burd" -i be cumlej "ew pjawe nasjawym bu" -wewe nuusandhywe. Le cumlej sejema "ke" -j dwaj "ew mnalhanen" bonawi lêkdhere, chunke cêj "ew mnalhane" egrêtewe we cumlej "emane ew mnalhanen" -i be cumlej "ew mnalhane duynê le imtixan der chun" -ewe nuusandhywe.

TRANSLATION

(*a*) An interjection is a sound which is used to express a feeling such as joy, surprise, grief, fear, etc. These can have no connection with the other words of the sentence, e.g.,

Oh! I forgot.

Hurrah! I am freed.

Alas! I shall soon be driven mad by you.

In these sentences "Oh!" is used for surprise, "Hurrah!" is used for joy, "Alas!" is used for grief.

(*b*) Relative pronouns are the following: *ke*, *-i*, which, that, e.g.,

I am living in the house which you bought last year.

That man that passed by here was an acquaintance of mine.

These are the children who passed the examination yesterday.

In the first sentence the second *ke* (which) is a relative pronoun, because it takes the place of "the house" and has

connected the sentence "I am living in the house" to the sentence "You bought last year." In the second sentence the "that" (-*i*) after "that man" is a relative pronoun because it takes the place of "that man" and has connected the sentence "that man passed by here" to the sentence "that man was an acquaintance of mine". In the third sentence the "who" (*ke*) after "those children" is a relative pronoun because it takes the place of "those children" and has connected the sentence "these are those children" to the sentence "those children passed the examination yesterday".

On the Tibetan Transcriptions of Si-Hia Words

By STUART N. WOLFENDEN

SINCE, during the last few years, Si-Hia texts with transliterations into Tibetan character have been brought to light,[1] it seems that a new aspect may be put upon the morphology of this language.

Previously the texts studied provided us only with transcriptions into Chinese characters, and it is on their evidence that reconstructions of Si-Hia words were first based. Writing in 1916 with this class of material before him, Laufer[2] consequently stated that "consonantal prefixes can be pointed out only in four cases: *k-ṅü* or *k-ṅu* ('five'), *k-ṅum* ('heaven'), *r-ni* ('ear'), and possibly *m-ru*, *m-lu* ('worm')".

Again, more recently (1926), though in this case with the evidence of Tibetan transcriptions at hand, Nevsky[3] has stated his belief that the prefixed letters in the Tibetan transcriptions of Si-Hia words were probably not pronounced, a conclusion to which he was evidently largely led "by keeping in mind its Chinese transcription" when dealing with a Si-Hia word and its variants.

But there seems very little justification for this. In Nevsky's material the Tibetan transcriptions actually give us directly contrary evidence powerful enough to go far, with supporting material from related languages (examples of which are given below), to negative the idea that Si-Hia was a language devoid of spoken prefixes. It is not exactly probable, to say the least, that in the eleventh century, when the script was invented and introduced, that the language had no such prefixes to record. All the evidence, internal and external, is opposed to such a view.

[1] See Stein, *Innermost Asia*, vol. iii, pl. cxxxiv, and Nevsky, "A Brief Manual of the Si-Hia Characters with Tibetan Transcriptions," *Research Review of the Osaka Asiatic Society*, No. 4, March, 1926.

[2] *Toung Pao*, vol. xvii, p. 103.

[3] Op. cit., p. xxiv.

It was natural enough for the earlier investigators, working from the Chinese side only, to have concluded that Si-Hia was badly abraded, for Chinese is ill equipped for recording prefixed elements of the Tibetan type. But there is one source of support for the Tibetan transcriptions which has not yet been given the attention it deserves, viz. the existence still, no very great distance from the old Si-Hia territory, of forms often containing the old Si-Hia prefixes—a fact which makes it appear rather likely that the old transcriptions of Si-Hia words in Tibetan characters are really telling the truth.

Among such the following may here be given [1] :—

(1) Si-Hia རྨེ་ *rme*, man, Jyarung *t-r-mi* (v. R.), *ti-r-mi* (H.).

(2) Si-Hia དམིའ་ *dmi*$_{\circ}$, དམི་ *dmi*, མི་ *mi*, eye, Jyarung *d-mye* (L.), *te-mniŏk* (v. R.), *tai-myek*, *tă-myek* ("*tam-myek*"; H.).

(3) Si-Hia གཤའ་ *gśa*, ཤ་ *śa*, seven, Jyarung *ko-ś-nês*, *ko-ś-ne* (v. R.), *k-ś-nis* (L.), *kŭ-ś-nés* (H.).

(4) Si-Hia དགུའ་ *dgu*$_{\circ}$, བགུ་ *bgu*, head, Jyarung *ta-ku* (v. R.), *ta-ko* (H.), T. མགོ་ *mgo*

(5) Si-Hia གམུའ་ *gmu*$_{\circ}$, དམུ་ *dmu*, དམི་ *dmi*,[2] fire, Jyarung *te-mi*, *te-me* (v. R.), *ti-mi* (H.).

[1] The Si-Hia forms are from Nevsky's *Manual* already quoted, those of Jyarung from Laufer (L.), *T'oung Pao*, xv (1914), pp. 106–8, v. Rosthorn (v. R.), *ZDMG.*, Bd. 51, pp. 524–33, and Hodgson (H.), *Essays on the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet*, pt. ii, pp. 65–82, and Vocabulary following (cf. *JRAS.* 1928, pp. 897–8). The reader is also referred to the writer's *Outlines of Tibeto-Burman Linguistic Morphology*, R.A.S. Prize Publication, vol. xii, pp. 141–3, where this language is dealt with in connection with Central Nāgā. Chinese sense equivalents are given here from Nevsky when the exact standing of the Si-Hia word—substantive or verb—is in doubt. Tibetan འ as a final is transcribed $_{\circ}$, by analogy with Jäschke's practice with འ as a prefix and Burmese *ok myit* ($_{\circ}$) the representative of earlier final အ (= T. འ).

[2] For the i <> e interchange, see *JRAS.* 1929, p. 562, and *Morphology*, pp. 114–115.

(6) Si-Hia གཡིའ་ *g-yi*₀,* གཡི་ *g-yi*, གཡྱི་ *g-yyi*, ཡིའ་ *yi*₀, ཡི་ *yi*, sun, T. (ninth cent.[1]) གཉི་ *gńi*, Jyarung *ka-ni* ("*kě-ni*"; v. R.), *ki-ni* (H.), Si-fan *gni-ma*, *gnê-ma*, Moso *gni-me*, Kami *ka-ní* (Lewin), *ka-ni* (Phayre).

(7) Si-Hia དམེའ་ *dme*₀, woman, Jyarung *te-mi*, *te-me* (v. R.).

(8) Si-Hia གསོའ་ *gso*₀, གསྭོང་ *gswoṅ*,[2] གསྭོང་ *gsôṅ*;[2] གསོ་ *gso*, three, Jyarung *ko-som*, *ko-sôm* (v. R.), *ka-sám* (H.), T. གསུམ་ *gsum*.

(9) Si-Hia བསུའ་ *bsu*₀, བསྭི་ *bswi*[3] (Nevsky's "*bsī*"), seed, T. འཛུགས་པ་ *ądzugs-pa*, *zug-pa*, P. བཙུགས་ *btsugs*, *zugs* F. *gzugs* Imp. *zug*(*s*) to plant, to set a plant into the ground, and cognates. The Si-Hia word here appears to be from a "Perfect" form, lit. "(that which is) inserted or planted (in the ground)".

(10) Si-Hia གཅེའ་ *gče*₀, གཅེ་ *gče*, to go (行),[4] T. གཤེགས་པ་ *gšegs-pa* to go, to proceed, Jyarung *kop*[5]*-či* to go on foot (v. R.).

(11) Si-Hia བཇི་ *bǰi*, འཇི་ *ąǰi*, ཇེའ་ *ǰe*₀, going, a walk, a journey (行 subst.[5]), T. མཆི་བ་ *mči-ba* (eleg.) to come, to go (cf. also T. འཆི་བ་ *ąči-ba* P. *ši* to disappear, go away or go out (as a flame or life), whence: to die; death, lit. "going away").

(12) Si-Hia དངའ *dṅa* (好, 善), T. དགའ་བ་ *dga-ba* to rejoice; glad, happy; good (cf. also T. དགེ་བ་ *dge-ba* happiness, welfare; happy).

[1] See *JRAS*. 1928, p. 898.

[2] Exact reading uncertain. Cf. next entry.

[3] See note 2 on p. 48.

[4] See Morisse, "Contribution Préliminaire a l'Étude de l'Écriture et de la Langue Si-Hia," *Mem. de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1904 (t. xi, 2me Partie), p. 41.

[5] *kop* = foot; *ko-po* in Hanniu Jyarung (v. R.).

(13) Si-Hia རྩི་ *rtsi* (汁 ? ; cf. 津 sap, juice [1]), T. རྩི་ *rtsi*, sap, juice.

(14) Si-Hia གཉིའ་ *gni*$_{o}$, གཉི་ *gni*, two, T. གཉིས་ *gñis*, Jyarung *ko-nes* (v. R.), *ka-nés* (H.).

(15) Si-Hia གཏེའ་ *gte*$_{o}$, alone, single, one (獨, —), Jyarung *ko-tie* (v. R.), *ka-ti* (H.), one. (Cf. ? T. གཅིག་ *gčig*.)

(16) Si-Hia འགིའ་ *agi*$_{o}$, དགིའ *dgi*$_{o}$, nine, T. དགུ་ *dgu*,[2] Jyarung *ku-ṅú*, *ko-ṅu* (v. R.), Lushei *pa-kuá*, Shonshe *ma-ko*, and others.

(17) Si-Hia བཟུའ་ *bzu*$_{o}$, ཟུ་ *zu*, ཟུའ *zu*$_{o}$, ཟུ་ *zu*, resemble, equal to, like (如), T. ཟུ་བ་ *ẑu-ba* F. བཟུ་ *bžu*, Imp. (*b*)*žu*(*s*) to copy.

(18) Si-Hia གནོའ་ *gno*$_{o}$, ནོ་ *no*, ཉོ་ *ño*, 及, 及, 復, 更, 逮, 復. T. གནོན་པ་ *gnon-pa*, ནོན་པ་ *non-pa*, P. *gnan* to overtake, to reach, to come up with.[3]

(19) Si-Hia གསེའ་ *gse*$_{o}$, སེ་ *se*, clean, pure (淨), T. གསང་ *gsaṅ* (also *bsaṅs-pa*, Perf. of *gtsaṅ-ba*; cf. also *saṅ-ba* P. (*b*)*saṅs* F. *baṅs* to cleanse, to purify).

(20) Si-Hia 屈 *rku*[4] (屈), T. དགུ་བ་ *dgu-ba* to bend, bent, དགུར་ *dgu-r*, ངུར་ *ṅgu-r*, སྒུར *sgu-r*.[5]

(21) Si-Hia གཉེའ་ *gne*$_{o}$, གཉེ་ *gne*, ཉེ་ *ne*, heart, Nyi Lo-lo *gn*(*i*) *ma*, T. སྙིང་ *sñiṅ*, Jyarung *te-ś-ni* (v. R.).

[illegible] ལྔ་ *ṅa*,[6] five, Lepcha *fá-ño*, Lushei ...

[1] See Nevsky, No. 186.

[2] See note 2 on p. 48.

[3] Cf. also སྣོན་པ་ *snon-pa* P. and F. *bsnan* to add, to increase; increase, growth, approximating other meanings of the Chinese synonyms.

[4] Reading doubtful. Queried by Nevsky (No. 271), who suggests ཊུ་ *rku* as a possible alternative.

[5] See *Morphology*, p. 29 (No. 22 and n. 1).

[6] See note 2 on p. 48.

pa-ńá, Dimâ-sâ *bo-ńá*, etc., Jyarung *ko-mâ*, *ko-mu*[1] (v. R.); T. ལྷ་ *lha*.

In some cases Si-Hia naturally shows independence in the matter of its prefix, as in :—

(23) Si-Hia གསེའ་ *gse₀*, གསེ་ *gse*, སེ *se*, to know ([illegible]), T. བཤེས་པ་ *bśes-pa*, ཤེས་པ་ *śes-pa*.

(24) Si-Hia གདེའ་ *gde₀*, གདེ *gde*, class, category, kind ([illegible], [illegible]), T. སྡེ་ *sde*.

In these the substitution leans definitely towards the usage of Eastern Tibetan dialects.[2]

It must surely be admitted, in view of such evidence, that we no longer have any valid reason for questioning the accuracy of the Tibetan and favouring that of the Chinese transcriptions. Quite apart from anything else, it is, *a priori*, to be expected that Si-Hia, as a Tibeto-Burman language dating back seven to nine centuries, would be well provided with just such prefixes as the Tibetan transcriptions contain.

It also seems not improbable that the Jyarung tribes, at present settled just west of the Cheng-tu plain in Sze-ch'uan, are descendants of a stock whose language was nearly allied to Si-Hia, though our knowledge of their dialect is as yet so fragmentary that but little can be said with certainty. It is, however, at least a fact that correspondence is, in general, a good deal closer between Si-Hia and Jyarung than between Si-Hia and the "Tangutan" material collected by Prejevalsky[3] in former Si-Hia territory, and it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that a body of Si-Hia speakers were displaced southwards by Chingiz Khân's conquest of their kingdom, and that it is their word material which we have surviving in Jyarung. In this latter, prefixes instead of

[1] Cf. Laufer's *k-ńa*, *k-ńu* quoted above, and see his *Si-Hia*, pp. 41–2 (No. 35).

[2] Cf. *JRAS*. 1928, p. 898.

[3] *Mongolia, the Tangut Country and the Solitudes of Northern Tibet*, London, 1876, vol. ii, pp. 136–8. See also pp. 112–13 and 301–4.

being lost have been retained, and have even had placed before them still others of later date.[1] We consequently are not compelled to expect Si-Hia to be represented now by word forms more abraded than the Tibetan transcriptions we have considered above, and need feel no surprise if the language is eventually found to survive in Jyarung and to have suffered less phonetic decay than we might expect.

[1] See *Morphology*, pp. 141–3.

The Kâlavâda and the Zervanite System

By O. G. von Wesendonk

I. Introduction

THE manner in which Mānī presented to the Sāsānian court his new doctrine seems to demonstrate that the mazdayasnian theology of that period conceived time, *zrvan-*, as the highest principle. Zarathuštra's own doctrine had been distinctively monotheistic and spiritual. But it had fallen into oblivion and had been superseded by a polytheistic system such as was the official creed of the Achaemenian empire and such as it is recorded in the later Avesta. At a certain moment religious reaction appears to have made itself felt against the alteration of the true spirit of Zarathuštra's teaching. In trying to reconstruct this doctrine the mazdaist theologians had hit upon speculations considering time as the supreme essence. The question, when this system may have been first evolved, will be treated later on. For the present, it may suffice to state that the Zervanite theology was officially recognized during the beginning of the Sāsānian epoch, but without leaving traces in the Avesta or in the bulk of the Pahlavī literature.

On the other hand philosophical speculations on time formed the essential part of a special system of Indian philosophy, the Kālavāda, a school which disappeared and was absorbed by the recognized systems. Again, in the Hellenistic world the question of time, of its relation to certain philosophical conceptions and scientific aspects was treated under a number of different points of view.

The wide diffusion of the speculations concerning time as the leading principle calls for a closer study of this special development of thought. It must be borne in mind that the representation of time as a philosophical or religious factor is only possible when certain astronomical features have been observed, comprising a system of measurement of time and showing that nothing visible can be taken as existing outside this conception. Where therefore time has been promoted to the rank of supreme essence, the scientific spirit and the philosophical or theological speculations must necessarily have already attained a certain level. All this contends to make the examination of the problem more attractive, but it adds considerably to the difficulty of handling it.

The scope of the following lines is to present the features of the question in a manner showing the similarities and the differences of the conception of time in Iran, in India, and in the Hellenistic world. If absolutely convincing results cannot be arrived at on the subject of the origin of the speculations on time—speculations which may have been taken up in different countries and at different epochs independently of each other—it may be of interest at least to be able to compare the doctrines in question. However, it must never be forgotten that between India, Iran and the Western world frequent intercourse took place and that important features like the Indian alphabet point to the conclusion of Western influences having worked on the Indian mind—through direct contact by the neighbourhood of Iran or through other channels like southern Arabia. Sir John Marshall's important discoveries in the Punjab show that very early relations

existed between north-western India and the countries situated on the Persian Gulf.

But one fact must not be overlooked: Indian thought has developed mainly on its own lines. Even if outside influences are to be taken into account, Indian philosophy has always gone her own way, not troubling about other nations. Mahâyâna-buddhism has first carried Indian ideas into wider circles. It may be that certain features of Buddhism like the non-recognition of the caste system [1] and its adversity to ascetic practices have been the main instrument in making Buddhism unpopular in India, so that the Hindoo movement was able to suppress Buddhism in India proper.

When the special position of the Indian development is taken into consideration, it will appear useful to examine the Indian theories on time as the first point of this paper and to follow up with Iran as the country which was in touch both with India and the regions of the West. After treating the Iranian conceptions of time as the highest being it will be good to turn to the Hellenistic world extending the studies to such Mesopotamian, Anatolian or other elements which may have been taken up by Hellenism.

After the situation concerning the philosophy of time in Iran, India and the Hellenistic world has been made clear, it will be possible to propose certain solutions explaining the different speculations. In doing this, it must, however, be understood that the author does not intend to engage himself in unproved theories, but that he only wishes to present some suggestions for further studies.

[1] This does not mean that Buddhism was in any way a reaction against the system of castes. On the whole early Buddhism was an aristocratic movement, in which the *kṣatriyas* are prominent. It was against the privileges of the Brâhmaṇas and the authority of the Veda that the new doctrine was directed. For attaining the state of freedom from pain and the entanglement in the world it was indifferent whether the follower of the Buddha was a Brâhmaṇa, a Kṣatriya, or a Vaiśya. But the Indian Buddhists were aware of the caste distinction. Nobles and Brâhmaṇas form the surrounding of the Buddha and Buddhist tradition believes that a Buddha can only be born as a Brâhman or a Kṣatriya.

A number of special points of the subject under review has been dealt with already by eminent scholars whose work in elucidating parts of the problem have greatly advanced our knowledge of it. Such valuable contributions are principally due to Wilhelm Bousset, Franz Cumont, Louis Mariès, Carl Clemen, Eduard Norden, Heinrich Junker, Hans Heinrich Schaeder, Richard Reitzenstein, Louise Troje, Robert Eisler, and Isidor Scheftelowitz.[1] The work accomplished by these and other scholars has given the impulse for undertaking the following study, which tries to consider the subject under a more general aspect, but which would not be possible without the preparatory investigations mentioned here. It will not in every case be feasible to accept the explanations or deductions proposed by other authors, but this does not mean a criticism of their work. The strongest impulse given by scholarly labour is not always contained in the fact that the result expounded must be maintained for ever and ever, but that it incites discussion and further investigation. If a problem is attacked from more sides than one, the probabilities of a sound solution will by necessity be larger than if only a restricted circle of persons deals with it. As the field which the present study has to embrace is large and as the traditions of many nations and countries have to be taken into account, the chances for errors are greater than if the author had limited himself to only one or two sectors.

[1] After the completion of this paper, which was read in August, 1928, at the 17th International Oriental Congress at Oxford, the following studies have touched the subject under consideration: K. Holl, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, ii, 1928, 145 ff. A. Christensen, *Études sur le Zoroastrisme de la Perse Antique*, 1928, 45 ff. A. V. Williams Jackson, *Zoroastrian Studies*, 1928, 31 ff. J. D. C. Pavry, *The Zoroastrian Doctrine of a Future Life*, 2nd ed., 1929, 64, 26. I. Scheftelowitz, *Die Zeit als Schicksalsgottheit in der indischen und iranischen Religion*, 1929. H. Junker, *Wörter und Sachen*, xii, 1929, 132 ff. E. Benveniste, *The Persian Religion*, 1929, 76 ff. *JAS.* ccxv, 1929, 287 ff. H. S. Nyberg, *JAS.* ccxiv, 1929, 196 ff. G. Messina, *Der Ursprung der Magier und die zarathuštrische Religion*, 1930, 94 f. F. Cumont, *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*, 4th ed., 1929, 277 f.

II

Indian Conceptions of Time

1. *Attitude of different religious and philosophical schools towards the problem*

The Ṛgveda employs the term *kāla* like the word *ṛtu* not in the general sense of time but in that of "certain moment", "right moment".[1] In the latter meaning *kāla* was often used in connection with the sacrifice ritual and although the etymology of the word has not yet been cleared up in a completely satisfactory manner[2] the sense "right moment for a purpose" seems to be the original one, as Oldenberg has been able to show.[3] On the other hand, it has been suggested that *kāla* may have meant at first something like "driver" and that this figure was a so-called "special god" in the sense accepted by Usener.[4] In a similar manner Güntert has tried to explain the character of Savitar.[5] There remains however a certain difficulty. It is in the Artharvaveda that *kāla* is mentioned for the first time as a god. He appears there already as an abstract conception of highly philosophical tendencies. How this abstraction developed is not known and only conjectures can be put forward concerning the original character of *kāla* as a deity. There is even no explanation to be given how *kāla* came to be the term for "time", in which meaning the word is generally employed in Sanskrit, where the conception of a deity *kāla* does not come into consideration. We can only state that the Atharvaveda treats kāla as a god, without being able to ascertain in what way this notion grew up.

The question whether the abstract idea of time was turned into a deity or whether a concrete god kāla, the

[1] Cf. the post-Vedic expression *ṛtukāla*, "season, menses".

[2] H. Güntert, *Der arische Weltkönig und Heiland*, 232 ff.

[3] *Lehre der Upanișaden*, 18, 1; *Weltanschauung der Brāhmaṇatexte*, 40.

[4] W. Wüst, *ZII.* v, 1927, 166 f.; cf. Usener, *Götternamen*, 75 f.

[5] Güntert, loc. cit., 155 ff.; cf. Oldenberg, *Rel. des Veda*, 2nd ed., 63 ff; *ZDMG.* li, 473 ff., lix, 253 ff; *Vedaforschung*, 79 ff.

"driver", was at a certain period connected with the abstract conception of time, can hardly be answered, if one desires to remain on the solid ground of facts.

Atharvaveda, xix, 53 and 54, presents Kāla already as the highest principle, as the creator of Prajāpati and of the universe.[1] On the other hand, Atharvaveda, xiii, 2, 39 ff., says that Rohita, a solar deity, is Kāla and Prajāpati. In the Ṛgveda Rohita often designs a red horse, and the conception of the sun as a horse is well-known. Atharvaveda, xix, 53, 1, calls Kāla a horse with seven reins and a thousand eyes.[2]

It is practically impossible to fix even approximately the age of the Atharvaveda. In any case, this *saṃhitā* is of special interest, because it preserves numerous opinions which were not considered as orthodox. The philosophical speculations on time which the Atharvaveda exposes reckon with Brahman. It is to be assumed that these notions on Kāla as time cannot have been introduced before Brahman had been recognized by philosophical speculation as the one principle which contains everything. The two hymns about Kāla, who is said to enclose Brahman, and to be superior to him, must therefore belong to a period when the idea of Brahman had been developed, and they denote an opposition to the teaching of Brahman being the highest essence. In general the philosophical and cosmogonical parts of the Atharvaveda are believed to be of relatively recent origin,[3] although it cannot be proved why such portions should not contain very ancient conceptions. In any case, the Atharvaveda shows that

[1] On these hymns cf. Deussen, *Gesch. d. Philos.* I, i, 209 ff; Winternitz, *Gesch. d. ind. Lit.* i, 132; Güntert, *Der arische Weltkönig*, 231 ff; O. Strauss, *Indische Philosophie*, 34.

[2] It must not be forgotten that Rohita means "the red one" and Kāla "the blue-black". Etymologically this word has nothing to do with Kāla "time". A certain parallel may have been drawn between the two expressions, but the comparison of Kāla with a horse does not seem to point to ancient mythological connections, which have been seen here by some scholars.

[3] Winternitz, loc. cit., 130; Oldenberg, *Weltanschauung*, 40, thinks that the two hymns in question may belong to the period of the Brāhmaṇas.

Kāla had become the subject of philosophical meditations. It is to be understood that time was connected with Prajāpati in his character as *Saṃvatsara* "the year", and that astronomical notions were taken into account. The seven reins, the seven wheels of Kāla as mentioned in Atharvaveda, xix, 53, 1 f., have been explained as the seven planets or the seven Ādityā. Kāla's thousand eyes are said to be identical with the stars as governed by time. Güntert believes the notion of time to be synonymous with Aditi.[1] Space and time are often enough linked up together, but there is no clue to show that "boundlessness" *Aditi*, has really influenced the notion of Kāla as we find it in the Atharvaveda. The Iranian Zrvan- akarana- has evidently been the cause of connecting Aditi and Kāla. Without accepting the correctness of a theory which believes in relations between Aditi and Kāla, it will be useful to remember the controversies about Aditi and the Ādityā, which have been explained in the most divergent manner, this group of deities having been put in parallel with the Aməša-spənta- and having been connected with influences from Mesopotamia.

After the Atharvaveda, Kāla "time" is not unfrequently mentioned in philosophical and religious texts. But the conception is generally taken in a different character than in the Atharvaveda, where Kāla is the highest principle of a somewhat mystical tint. The Mahābhārata occasionally considers time as fate.[2] The doctrine of Karman has influenced such considerations.[3] Bali, Namuci and Vṛtra find according to the Mahābhārata [4] their consolation in the idea, that Kāla has shaped their destinies and that nothing can be done against time and fate. The Mokṣadharma points

[1] *Der ar. Weltkönig*, 231.

[2] xii, 28, 18 ff.; 153, 44; cf. 25, 5 ff.; 33, 14 ff.; xiii, 1, 50 f., etc.

[3] Time as a deity of destiny in India has been treated by I. Scheftelowitz at the Fifth German Orientalists' Meeting in 1928. He arrives at the conclusion that Kāla as destiny is a conception which developed only after astrology became known in India. Cf. his book *Die Zeit als Schicksalsgottheit* mentioned above.

[4] xii, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 230.

to Kāla as the mediator between Prakṛti as the non-apperceiving cause and the non-apperceiving effects, the evolutions of matter. These considerations are greatly complicated by the speculations on the true nature of the relations between Puruṣa and Prakṛti and the explanation of the fact how non-spiritual matter came to create the cosmic and psychical world. Repeatedly time is compared to the consuming fire: it is said that Kāla cooks or burns the world. In such cases Kāla is identified with Agni like later on with Māyā or Prakṛti.

The senses of time and fate given to Kāla include the notion of death, primarily as being the fate from which no living being can escape. Kāla gradually becomes synonymous of death. The deity of time and the god of death form one heavenly being; Kāla is the same as Yama. Śiva is Mahākāla, the great time and at the same time the great death; Mahākālī is a form of Durgā. Though Kālī originally means "the blue-black", the similarity of sound with Kāla must not be neglected. Like Śiva, Viṣṇu has been assimilated to Kāla,[1] but time, the general destroyer and giver of life, seems on the whole to be more appropriated to the character of Śiva. The Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, i, 2, mentions time as one of the four shapes of the highest essence, the other three being *pradhāna*, *puruṣa* and *vyakta*. The Bhāgavata-Purāṇa makes Viṣṇu act through Kāla. Occasionally Viṣṇu is called Kāla or Kāla appears as an independent element besides Viṣṇu.[2]

The testimonies hitherto examined show Kāla in the sphere of mythology and religion.[3] They are probably only the remains of a once rather widely spread philosophical speculation, which considered absolute time as the fundamental principle and which was superseded and rendered

[1] Schrader, *Über d. Stand d. indischen Philosophie z. Zt. Mahāvīras u. Buddhas*, 30.

[2] *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, i, 6, 9; 8, 28; 9, 14; 13, 16 f., etc.

[3] Religion and Philosophy are interdependent in India. Cf. M. Winternitz' clever remarks, *Hochschulwissen*, 1927, 687, on the formation of the notion Theosophy by Oltramare and Speyer.

obsolete by other victorious systems. It is typical that just the Atharvaveda, which enjoys the least great reputation amongst the *saṃhitās* and which has preserved many beliefs not recognized by orthodoxy, and sectarian developments like Śivaism retain notions of Time as the uppermost god.

That the problem of time came to occupy the minds of Indian philosophers is easily to be understood. The idea that every existing thing has but a transitory nature and is subject to decay led by itself to speculation on the character of time, generally linked up with space, *diś*, meaning a part of the world, and *ākāśa*, "infinite space," a much discussed notion.

But time being connected with the everyday life of man, it was, too, subjected to a purely scientific treatment. The science of time, *kālajñāna*, comprising the knowledge of the division of time, *kālajñānagati*, forms a part of astrology.[1] Without understanding the system of time-division it was impossible to follow the movements of the stars. Therefore the study of time was of the highest importance. The notion of Kāla belonged to the field of research of one of the most difficult branches of Indian science, astronomy and astrology; astrology again remains in close connection with other parts of scientific study as well as with religion and magic rites. The mathematical and astronomical problems concerning time have had their bearing on the philosophical side of the aspect, the character of Kāla as a deity of fate and death, such as it was developed in certain circles, making the whole term most appropriate for astrological systems.

In the field of philosophy, however, speculation hit on the great difficulty of defining the character of time, a puzzle which was not answered till Kant's explication of time and space as forms of conception of the human mind was propounded. Indian thought looked on time as a substance or as an attribute and occasionally tried to tackle the problem whether time is eternal or not. On the whole, the question

[1] J. v. Negelein, *ZDMG*. N.S. 7, 1928, 3.

of the nature of time does not seem to have taken up much room in the systems known to us. It is more or less accidentally that the problem is treated. Buddhists were on the other hand ready to negate the existence of time at all, and this point of view has given rise to controversies which allow us to get acquainted with the opinions of the Brāhmanic opponents.[1]

The reflections of the Maitrāyaṇa-Upaniṣad[2] on the transitory nature of everything existing lead already to the consideration that time is a substance identical with Brahman, while the Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad[3] makes time only proceed from Brahman through *ākāśa*, "space," a much discussed term which is often equalled to the ether. The Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad, i, 2, mentions Kāla with nature, Svabhāva, necessity, Niyati, chance, Yadṛcchā, the fundamental substances, Bhūtāni, Yoni and Puruṣa among the possible primary principles which may have caused the world to come into existence. On the other hand Gauḍapāda tries to demonstrate that Kāla, Īśvara or Svabhāva cannot be the original causes of the world's existence.[4] One of the questions which puzzle the Indian philosophers is how time can be eternal and still subjected to being divided into determinated portions. For those schools who consider time as a substance the problem presents itself in the shape of having to accept the eternity of a substance. While the Sāṁkhya explains time and space as eternal and coexistant attributes of primar matter, Pradhāna, other systems like the Vaiśeṣika accept two different times, an eternal indivisible time and the different parts of time such as the movement of the stars calls forth.

These short hints may suffice to show how complicated

[1] Cf. the excellent survey given by Th. Stcherbatsky, *La théorie de la connaissance et la logique chez les Bouddhistes tardifs*, 12 ff.

[2] i, 4; vi, 14–16.

[3] iii, 8, 6–10.

[4] *Ad Sāṁkhyakārikā*, 61; cf. H. Jacobi, *Gottesidee*, 39.

the whole problem appeared to the philosophical mind.[1] It is of interest to note that the Vedânta, which gives to the conception of *ākāśa* its place in speculation, passes more or less in silence over that of time. Śaṅkara,[2] who attacks the Buddhists because they negate the outward world, accepts only an empirical reality. Therefore time does not exist in his eyes, there being no succession of psychic phenomena and no changement in the exterior world, a point of view strongly resembling that adopted by Buddhism.

The Vaiśeṣika system ranges time amongst the eternal substances. But it must not be forgotten that for the philosophy of the Vaiśeṣika *dravya* only means something possessing quality or movement and being the immediate cause of a phenomenon.[3] In any case, Vaiśeṣika and Nyāya do not recognize time and space as qualities.[4] Kaṇāda calls time like *diś*, "space," as distinguished from *ākāśa*, "ether," a unique, boundless and eternal substance which cannot be apperceived.[5] This substance is measured by the sun. On the other hand the Nyāya system looks on the substances as elements of matter, *bhūta*.[6] Time and space are eternal substances, coexisting with everything and all-penetrating like *ākāśa*, "ether."[7]

The speculations of the Naiyāyikas on the nature of time as a substance of a character not subjected to human apper-

[1] It may be allowed to draw the attention to Henri Bergson's idea of the "Evolution créatrice", metaphysical time being distinguished from the mere succession of phenomena, and to the literary treatment of the problem by Marcel Proust, *A la recherche du temps perdu*.

[2] Deussen, *System des Vedânta*, 260 ff.

[3] Max Müller, *ZDMG.* vi, 24. *The Six Systems*, 2nd ed., 441 f.

[4] It may be mentioned that Indian logics did not arrive at a doctrine of conclusion in the Aristotelian sense. H. Jacobi, *Nach. d. Gött. Ges. d. W.*, 1901, 461 f.

[5] Deussen, *Gesch. der Phil.*, I, iii, 351; M. Müller, *The Six Systems*, 2nd ed., 444 f.

[6] *Nyâya Darśana*, I, i, 13.

[7] *Nyâya Darśana*, II, i, 22; cf. H. v. Glasenapp, *Hinduismus*, 279; O. Strauss, *Indische Philosophie*, 152, contends that the *Nyâya* considers time and space as eternal uniform realities.

ception lead to the declaration that time and space are identical.[1] Modern Nyāya philosophers pronounce time and space to be Īśvara. The modern Naiyāyikas being mostly Śivaites,[2] this assimilation could point to their having accepted the popular belief that Śiva-Īśvara is Mahākāla. It is very doubtful whether in this instance influences of the Kālavāda are to be taken into account, but in any case it is perhaps worth while to note that the Śivaites were represented in north-western India and that they may there have come into closer contact with Iranian ideas.

It will be useful to retain the fact that the Nyāya-sūtras may belong to the period between A.D. 200 and 450, while the Vaiśeṣika-sūtras are believed to have been written between A.D. 250 and 300[3]; the origin of the Vaiśeṣika philosophy as such can reach up to the second century B.C.[4]

According to Madhva (probably A.D. 1199–1278) time is with Prakṛti an eternal principle; Kāla proceeds from Prakṛti, and it is differenced by itself, not by any accidental happenings. In any case time depends on Viṣṇu.[5] This is the same attitude as that which the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa and the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa adopt.

A certain interest attaches to the Jaina interpretation of time.[6] Time having contrary to other substances no expansion and occupying no parts of space, Pradeśa, some Jaina philosophers separate it from the substances, Dravya, while others again declare Kāla to be a Dravya, but no Astikāya, i.e. time does not belong to one of the classes of being, such as Jīva and the four other non-spiritual substances.

[1] Vācaspatimiśra, cf. *Tātparyaśuddhi*, 281, refutes this opinion.

[2] Winternitz, *Gesch. d. ind. Lit.*, III, 477. According to a legend, Śiva is said to have revealed the Vaiśeṣikasystem to Kaṇāda in the shape of an owl. Cf. Peterson, *Three Reports*, 26 ff.

[3] Jacobi, *Nachr. der Gött. Ges. d. Wiss.*, 1901, 460 ff.; 476, 482; L. Suali, *Introduzione allo studio della filosofia Indiana*, 64 ff.; B. Faddegon, *The Vaiçeshika-system*, 10 ff.; H. v. Glasenapp, *Hinduismus*, 277 ff.

[4] Winternitz, *loc. cit.*, 472.

[5] H. v. Glasenapp, *Madhvas Philosophie des Vishnu-Glaubens*, 53.

[6] Cf. H. v. Glasenapp, *Jainismus*, 154 f.; O. Strauss, *Ind. Phil.*, 113.

In all the systems and religious communities mentioned before, the speculations on time only play a modest and more accidental part. But there existed one school of thought, which like the two hymns of the Atharveda mentioned before, considered time as the central notion and as the fundamental principle. This system, the Kālavāda, has disappeared. It is only through occasional polemics of Buddhist writings and by mentions in Jaina literature that the existence of this school is known. Why it disappeared is not to be said with certainty. The explanation proposed by certain scholars that the Kālavāda was absorbed by astrology,[1] does not sound very probable. On the contrary, astronomical and astrological reflections may have led to construing a philosophical school which pronounced time to be the first principle.

As has been shown, the Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad, i, 2, mentions Kāla as the first of the principles which have been considered as the original cause. After Kāla Svabhāva, nature, Niyati, necessity, Yadṛcchā, chance, Bhūtāni, the fundamental substances or elements, Yoni and Puruṣa, primar matter and spirit, are enumerated. The Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad introduces a new principle, Īśvara; thus theistic philosophy, which proceeds from the speculations on Ātman, has been of the greatest importance for the development of Śivaism and Viṣṇuism. In this Upaniṣad we further meet for the first time the theory of the three Guṇas,[2] the whole treatise being a kind of compromise between Vedānta and Sāṃkhya teachings.[3] The age of this Upaniṣad is difficult to fix. It has been suggested that the treatise is the product not of one author, but of a school and that the original was limited to i, 1–12, containing the doctrine of the threefold brahman, the complete theism of the other part of the

[1] Stcherbatsky, *Théorie de la connaissance*, 15.

[2] M. Müller, *The Six Systems*, 2nd ed., 216.

[3] M. Müller, loc. cit., 262; the *Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad* mentions *Vedānta*, vi, 22, *Sāṃkhya* and *Yoga* vi, 13.

Upaniṣad connected with Rudra being developed at a later period out of the theory of the threefold brahman.[1]

In any case the Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad points to the existence of a philosophical school which considered time as the first cause.

The Maitrāyaṇa-Upaniṣad[2] compares time with Brahman. Time and Not-time are called the two bodies of Brahman. Perhaps the authors of those passages of the said Upaniṣad tried to arrive at a compromise between the Kālavāda and the orthodox systems.

The Jaina literature further offers a few mentions of the systematic Kālavāda. There is a definition of time given according to the views of the Kālavāda by Śilaṅka in the Ācārāṅga, calling time amongst other things the form of action of everything.[3] In his commentary to the Nandī written in the twelfth century A.D. Malayagiri[4] quotes certain principles which may come from a Sūtra of the Kālavāda. Here time is called the cause of everything. Amongst the 360 *darśana*, which the canonic literature of the Jainas enumerates, the Kālavāda is mentioned as a sub-division of the Kriyāvāda. This conception is common to Buddhists and to Jainas and comprises such philosophic systems as recognize the three principles of freedom of will, responsibility and reincarnation. Malayagiri[5] says that Kāla is like Īśvara, Ātman, Niyati, Svabhāva and Yadṛcchā, one of the metaphysical principles of the six schools of agnosticism (*Ajñānavāda*).

These same systems are mentioned in the Buddhacarita[6] with the exception of the Kālavāda, about which the Buddha

[1] F. O. Schrader, *Der Stand der Philosophie*, 42 ff. For the importance of the *Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad* for the development of Śivaism cf. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism*, 106 ff.

[2] vi, 14 f.

[3] F. O. Schrader, *Der Stand der Philosophie*, 28.

[4] Ed. Calcutta, *samvat* 1936.

[5] F. O. Schrader, *Der Stand der Philosophie*, 12 f.

[6] ix, 47 f., ed. Cowell.

is made to pronounce himself in another passage of this work.[1] The Aṅguttaranikāya enumerates the *kālavādī*, *bhūtavādī*, *atthavādī*, *dhammavādī*, *vinayavādī*.[2] Whether Buddha himself was acquainted with the Kālavāda, appears as doubtful as the idea that Mahāvīra knew about this and other similar systems.[3] But it may be assumed that such schools existed really at a later period and that the literature of the Jainas and Buddhists does not merely reproduce an imaginary schedule, but gives an account of actually taught systems, a conclusion which, as has been demonstrated, can be drawn as well from Brahmanic sources.

The testimony of Bhaṭṭotpala, a commentator of Varāhamihiras Bṛhatsaṃhitā, may close the list of quotations about Kāla. This author says[4] that some consider time as an eternal, unifold and ever-present substance, the measure of all actions; others describe it as the movement of the sun, the planets, and the fixed stars, others again call time the difference of the periods. Here Bhaṭṭotpala does not seem to treat a philosophical system, but to reproduce opinions current in the circles of astronomers.

III

Iranian Conceptions of Time

1. *Iranian Sources*

Time, *zrvan-*, occupies but a very secondary position in the avestic pantheon. The name itself has been read as *zurvan-*, or by some scholars as *zruvan-*. Zrvan- belongs to the same root as *zaurvan*, or without epenthesis *zarvan-*, "old age," who appears as a demon in Vidēvdāt, xix, 43, as the *daēva-* of decrepitude making the parents lose their intelligence, if we follow the interpretation of the

[1] xviii, 55 f.
[2] iii, 69, 9, cf. *Puggala-Paññatti*, iv, 57 f. ed. Morris.
[3] Schrader, loc. cit., 13.
[4] ad *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, i. 7, ed. Dvivedi.

passage given by Bartholomae.[1] *Zrvan-* appears in two forms, as *akarana-*, "boundless time," and as *darəghō χ^vadhāta-*,[2] as the all-governing or self-created time of the long period. The second shape of time corresponds to the well-known period of 12,000 years in which the evolution of the corporal (*astvant-*) world is comprised. This epoch is contained in eternity, boundless time. The two conceptions are distinct from one another, but at the same time there exists a close connection between them inasmuch as Zrvan- darəghō χ^vadhāta- is but a section of Zrvan- akarana-.[3] This easily explains the fact why Zrvan- darəghō χ^vadhāta- always appears together with the other deity, Zrvan- akarana- and is never mentioned isolatedly as has been observed by H. Junker.[4] The two-fold yazata- Zrvan- is invoked Nyāyišn, i, 8 after Tištrya-, Vanant- and Thwāša- and before Vāta- and other deities. Vidēvdāt, xix, 13; 16, has Vayu- (vāyu-) instead of Vāta-. Thwāša- is the space full of air, or rather ether, the sphere lying beyond that of the stars, because air is really an element not familiar to the Iranians. Vāta- and Vayu- are geniuses of air and of the winds. Yašt xv is dedicated to Vayu- together with Rāman- χ^vāstra-, probably because a favourable wind brings "peace with good pastures", while hot or cold storms ruin them, whilst Vāta- is named οαδο on Indo-scythian coins. The winds are known to Herodotus, i, 131, as belonging to

[1] *Altiran. Wörterb.*, 757. For another interpretation see Jackson, *Grdr. d. iran. Phil.*, ii, 659 f.; Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, s.v.; Darmesteter *Zend-avesta*, ii, 275.

[2] Joh. Hertel takes χ^v*adhāta-* as "self-created", an expression opposed to *mdhāta-* "given through the existing," i.e. Ahura- Mazda-. *Die Sonne*, etc., 140.

[3] v. Selle, *Gött. Gel. Anzeigen*, 1927, 438, believes that *akarana-* and *darəghō χ^vadhāta-* (*derang χ^vadato*) are but two epithets belonging to one god Zrvan. Bartholomae, *Altir. Wörterb.*, 696, explains *darəghō χ^vadhāta-* as "der lange Zeit immer der eigenen Bestimmung untersteht", i.e. eternal. The *Rivāyat*, cod. xii, suppl. Anquetil, 14 ff., calls time the creator, but Ohrmazd, himself an offspring of boundless time, creates Zamān direng ẖudāi, both aspects of time being considered as distinct. By Zrvān i dērang χ^vadhāi the cosmic æon is understood.

[4] *Warburg-Vorträge*, i, 1921-22 126 ff.

the number of Persian gods. Space, Akaša-, is a notion only to be found in Pahlavī literature, to the Avesta it is unknown. Vayu-, "air," "wind," is according to the Bundahišn the emptiness between the realms of Ōhrmazd and Ahriman, where in the reign of Zrvan-dareghōχ"adhāta-the great meeting between the two spirits will take place. Yasna lxxii, 10 has Rāman-, Vayu-, Thwāša- and the two shapes of Zrvan-mentioned before. A synonym of Thwāša- or at least a strongly similar conception is Vayah-, "airy space," Nyāyišn, i, 1, where this deity is termed dareghōχ"adhāta- like Zrvan-.[1] Time appears together with space, but only in later periods, not in the Avesta, we find Zrvan- in connection with fate, a point which will still call for attention. The notion of fate itself, Baxt, is not mentioned before the Pahlavī period. To Zrvan- akarana- "boundless time" may be compared *anaghra-raočah-*, "the lights without beginning"[2]; these are opposed as transcendent light as *χ"adhāta-*, as sovereign or as self-created, to the light created only for the material world, which is called *stidhāta-* in Vidēvdāt II, 131, Mazdaism distinguishing between the purely spiritual sphere and the material existence.

The result for our investigation is but meagre, as far as the purely Avestic sources are concerned. Nowhere Zrvan- is an important *yazata-*, and there is no hint of his being considered as the highest principle. Only a comparatively small part of the Avesta has been preserved and it might have been possible that an epoch which rejected the Zervanite

[1] Misvan- gātu-, the place where the souls remain who are neither good nor bad, is considered as lying between earth and the sky. It is the Hamēstakān of Pahlavī books. This eschatological notion might be different from space and airy space as physical factors. J. Hertel, *Die Sonne*, pp. 64 f., believes *misvan- gātu-* to be the same as the domain of the wind.; cf. Lommel, *Die Yäšte*, 145 ff.

[2] The term appears in the Avesta always in the plural. J. Hertel thinks that *anaghra- raočåh-* meant originally probably the stars (*Die Sonne*, 147, text of note 1 to Yašt, x, 50) and that it is later one of the designations of the heaven of light (loc. cit., 10) and synonymous with *aša-* and other expressions for the fire filling this heaven of light (loc. cit., 78).

conception eliminated all allusions to this teaching. Such conjectures cannot, however, be proved. It is therefore the safest to assume that the Avestic texts do not consider Zrvan- as the supreme god and that time plays but a reduced and rather obscure part in these writings.

Outside the Avesta, Iranian allusions to Zervanism are too not frequent. At a later period the dualistic view was alone considered as orthodox and all other opinions were treated as heretic. The clergy apparently cleansed the texts of all allusions to Zervanism. Some passages, however, remain to show that the sacred writings did once speak of boundless time as the highest being. The Pandnāmak i Zarathušt [1] calls Ōhrmazd eternal, immortal, boundless and perfect, without mentioning his relation to Zrvan-. H. Junker [2] presumes that both are taken here as identical. In reality, the said Pahlavi text simply gives the traditional Pārsee point of view, which considers Ōhrmazd and Ahriman not as equals, the victory in the end belonging to Ōhrmazd and the forces of light being superior to those of darkness.[3] The Gâthic doctrine is different, Ahura- Mazda- being there the supreme essence in the spiritual realm, the antagonism of Spənta- and Anra-Manyu- remaining confined to the tangible world. The Pandnāmak i Zarathušt therefore does not seem to refer even indirectly to Zervanism. On the other hand, the Mēnūk i χrat positively calls the self-existing Zrvān the Pādišāh, with whose benediction alone Ōhrmazd can create. Time and fate

[1] Cf. Freiman, W.Z.K.M., 1906, xx.

[2] Warburg Lectures, i, 1921–22, 132 f. It may be mentioned here that Dīnkart, § 279, ed. Sanjana, letting all creatures return to the creator Ōhrmazd, corresponds to the Stoic view that God takes back to Himself everything, when a period of the world is terminated. In the same way, the Pahlavi expression *vardišn* for the cosmic movement can be explained by referring it to Stoic conceptions, which probably reached the Zoroastrian priests through some channel or other.

[3] This is why the Mazdaist theologians do not accept the Jewish opinion of the evil being a power rivalling with the good. Cf. *Dīnkart*, § 211, ed. Sanjana.

rule everything.[1] H. Junker has seen justly that the Zervanite tendencies of this text have been weakened, Zrvan- akarana-, Baxt, "fate," and "God's providence", Bāgh Baxt, becoming fighters on the side of Ōhrmazd in his war against Ahriman. The Mēnūk i χrat is imbued with the spirit of astrology and this attitude can be taken as typical for everything connected with Zervanism. Besides the Mēnūk i χrat the Great Bundahišn, vi, 68 ff.,[2] and the Zādsparam, iv, 5,[3] contain allusions to the Zervanistic theology.

Two later texts are of interest because they expose the Zervanite system at an epoch when the orthodox dualism had already triumphed and when Pārsism was a religion only tolerated by Islām. The controversial theological treatise *'Ulemā i Islām*[4] written in modern Persian calls time the creator. Everything done by Ōhrmazd was done by the help of time, who is the sovereign[5] of creation. The same point of view is adopted by a Rivāyat.[6] Except time everything is created. Both texts are full of astrological allusions. The conceptions in the two treatises are very similar. Ōhrmazd is the result of the union of fire and water, the first elements created by Zrvan-.

In the second part of the ninth century A.D. the Škand gumānīk vičār attacks the opinion of the Dahari.[7] These

[1] The Mēnūk i χrat representing Zervanite views, it is comprehensible, that this text resembles Manichæan writings, Mānī having adapted his new religion to the Zervanite theology. *For the transliteration* Mēnōkē χrat which is not followed here, cf. Nyberg, *JAS.* ccxiv, 1929, 242 ff.

[2] H. H. Schaeder, *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus*, 222 ff.

[3] H. H. Schaeder, loc. cit., 223 n.

[4] ed. Olshausen-Mohl, *Fragmens relatifs à la religion de Zoroastre*, Paris, 1829, 1 ff., transl. by Vullers, *Fragmente über die Religion des Zoroaster*, Bonn, 1831, 43 ff.; Chr. Bartholomae, *Zendhandschriften*, 152 f.; E. W. West, *Grundr. d. ir. Phil.*, ii, 123.

[5] *ḫuddāvand.*

[6] Code *Anquetil*, xii, suppl., 14 ff. Spiegel, *Die traditionelle Literatur der Parsen*, 161 ff.

[7] vi, 6 ff. West, *SBE.*, xxiv, 146; H. Junker, *Warburg-Vorträge*, i, 1921-22, 171; the Dahari are compared to the Islāmic sect of the Dahriya by M. Horten, *Die philos. Systeme d. spekulat. Theologen im Islam*, 81 ff.; 274 ff.; 320 ff.; *Die Philosophie d. Islam*, 110 f.

consider the world as a creation of Zrvān akanārak.[1] According to the Škand gumānīk vičār space, *gyak*, and time, *zamān*, are considered as *akanārak*, as boundless.[2]

The scarce mentions of Zervanism in the Iranian literature would by themselves not be sufficient to prove that the theology of Zrvan- was once officially recognized by Mazdaism. Yet a number of names composed with Zrvan- tend to show that this deity was highly considered in the Sāsānian epoch. The son of Mihr-narsēh, minister to the king Yezdegerd II, bore the name Zorvāndādh and the father called a village given to him Zorvāndādhān.[3] The daughter of Šāhpūhr II and wife of *Xosrau III* of Armenia was called Zorvānduxt.

2. *Christian References*

Besides the important, though only indirect, testimony of Mānī in the fragments of his Šāpūrakān luckily preserved in the sands of Turfān[4] some Christian authors speak of Zervanism.

Theodoros of Mopsuhestia, author of a βιβλιοδάριον περὶ τῆς ἐν Περσίδι μαγικῆς, says that Ζουρουάμ, whom Zarathuštra also calls τύχη, is the origin of everything and that through sacrificing he gave birth to Hormisdas and to Satan.[5] Before Theodoros, St. Basil the Great, Bishop of Kaisareia in Kappadokia calls Ζαρνουᾶς the beginning of the race of the Magusaeans.[6] Diodoros of Tarsos, who came into contact with St. Basil, is said to have written books κατὰ

[1] *pahl. akanārak* "without border" corresponds to Avestic *akarana-*.

[2] xvi, 53 f., Salemann, *Ein Bruchstück manich. Schrifttums*, 20.

[3] Nöldeke, *Tabari*, 109 ff. For the name Zorvāndāt cf. Bartholomae, *Zum sasanid. Recht*, v, 11; Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch* s.v. *Zarvāndāδ* and *Zarvānduxt*.

[4] H. H. Schaeder, *Warburg-Vorträge*, iv, 1924–25, 144.

[5] ap. Photium, *Bibl.*, 81. According to Lagarde, *Gesammelte Abhandl.*, 149, this book was addressed to an Armenian bishop.

[6] *ep.* 258 *ad Epiphan.*, 4.

ἀστρονόμων καὶ ἀστρολόγων καὶ εἱμαρμένης and κατὰ Μανιχαίων, but nothing of his works is left.[1] He like Theodoros of Mopsuhestia and perhaps the Mesopotamian bishop Mārī "the Persian", author of a lost book against the Magians of Nisibis, was probably inspired by Berossos as the ultimate source of knowledge on the Persian religion, though these men must have been able to collect, too, direct information about the Magian belief.

It has been assumed that Diodoros and Theodoros of Mopsuhestia were sources for the Armenian author Eznik of Kołb, who wrote in the fifth century A.D.[2] The works of Theodoros of Mopsuhestia became important for the Nestorian church; even before the Nestorian schism took place his writings must have been widely read. Therefore Esnik, who studied in Syria and in Constantinople, made extracts from Theodoros with the aim of instructing the Armenian clergy. Esnik's description of Zervanism is of the highest importance. His book is not an original work as he wrote after foreign sources, and it is quite probable that he used two different authors,[3] but this is irrelevant. The fact that men like Diodoros and Theodoros of Mopsuhestia treated Zervanism is significant enough, and Esnik, bishop of Bagrevand,[4] had no literary ambitions. His aim was merely practical. He wanted to enlighten the Armenians and give them the means of fighting against the Mazdaists, the Heathens,

[1] Photius, *Bibl.*, 223; 85.

[2] ed. Smyrna, 1762; ed. Venice, 1825–6, 1863 ff. Paris, 1860, Constantinople, 1864 ff. English translation by A. Aganon in J. Wilson, *The Persian Religion*, Bombay, 1843. German translation by J. M. Schmid, *Des Wardapet Eznik von Kolb Wider die Sekten*, Vienna, 1900. S. Weber *Bibl. der Kirchenväter, Der armen. Kirchenväter ausgewählte Schriften*, i, 25 ff. Esnik's text exists only in one manuscript, *Kčmiadzin* no. 111, written in A.D. 1280: cf. Ajarean and K. Ter-Mkrtčean, *Handēs amsoreay*, 1904, 33 ff.

[3] L. Mariès, *Le de Deo d'Eznik de Kołb*, 25, 86 f. The ultimate source for these authors may have been in a certain degree Berossos.

[4] Cf. S. Weber, loc. cit., 14 ff.

against Markion, Mânî and other religions considered as false.[1]

Now at the time of Eznik, who according to the Armenian sources took part in the synod of Artašat of A.D. 449, the Sâsânian king Yezdegerd II tried to convert the frontier province of Armenia to Mazdaism. An edict which the Persian minister, Mihr-narsēh, is said to have addressed to the Armenians, is reproduced by Elišē,[2] while Lazar of P'arpi[3] speaks of a letter sent by the king of kings to the Armenian nobility and this royal document was accompanied by an exposition of the Mazdaist faith elaborated by the Mōbēdhs.[4] This treatise, composed by the Persian priests, may have been retained by Elišē, while the royal letter has been left out. This statement is of interest because it has been pretended that Elišē only gave an excerpt from Eznik.[5] Although the so-called edict of Mihr-narsēh and the description of Zervanism given by Eznik resemble each other closely, and although Elišē may have read Eznik, it must be borne in mind that the synod of Artašat, where Eznik was present, refuted the said royal order. Eznik composed his book between 445 and 448, i.e. just before the synod of Artašat.[6] We have seen that Mihr-narsēh must have been an adherent of Zervanism, as he called his son Zorvāndādh. That Eznik

[1] ii. 9. Eznik says that the Persian religion is not exposed in books. This is right, if he should mean a systematic explanation of the system, because the Avestic literature can certainly not be considered as such. Theological treatises giving the Zervanite point of view may have remained unknown to Eznik, if such a literature existed at all in his time.

Euhemeristic traditions have influenced Eznik ii. 3, when he says that Zrvân was a human being and a mighty titan. Here he obviously followed simply his sources, and it may be remembered that Berossos gives similar rational explanations of ancient myths.

[2] c. 2.

[3] 19 ff.

[4] Lazar of P'arpi, 36.

[5] F. Cumont, *Textes et monuments*, i, 17 ff.; A. Meillet, *J.A.S.* n.s. xix, 1902, 548 f.; H. H. Schaeder, *Studien z. antik. Synkret.*, 239; A. Carrière, *Handes amsorya*, 1900, 183 ff.; L. Mariès, *Le de Deo*, 39 f.

[6] Harnack, *Marcion*, 2nd ed., 372*; Junker, loc. cit., 142; Mariès, loc. cit., 5.

used Theodoros of Mopsuhestia and Diodoros of Tarsos does not exclude the fact of his having known the edict addressed to the Armenians. The just named authors must in their time have had before them some materials giving details on the Zervanite religion. These may have been similar to the explanations joined by the Magian clergy to king Yezdegerd's address. The step undertaken by Mihr-narsēh had the effect of adducing a number of Armenian nobles to embrace Mazdaism ; this again provoked the rising of Vardan the Mamikonian, who saw the Sāsānian Great king occupied by a war with the Hephtalites. In 451 Vardan was, however, subdued by the Persians. All this shows that real facts, not only literary loans, account for Elišē's writing.

The mention of Zrvan by Ps. Moses of Chorene, i, 6, is only a translation of Kronos.[1] It is, however, interesting to state that in Armenia Zrvan was considered the fit translation of Kronos.

The Armenian sources describe the Zervanite system in a very similar way as the Syrian literature does. Syrian and Armenian Christians had to fight the same theological adversary. The acts of the Christian martyr Pūsai (+ 340)[2] give only the usual Mazdaistic view, when they say that the Magians pretend Hormizd to be the brother of Satan, but this fact may just as well contain an allusion to Zrvan- as the supreme father, just like it is to be found in a Manichæan fragment polemizing against the Zoroastrian faith.[3]

The acts of Ādhurhormizd and Anāhēdh[4] and Theodor bar Kōnai[5] show the points on which the Christians tried to

[1] Geffcken, *Nachr. d. Gött. Ges. d. Wiss.*, 1900, 37 f.

[2] O. Braun, *Ausgewählte Akten persischen Märtyrer*, 1915, 67.

[3] Müller, *Handschriftenreste*, ii, 95. The Manichæans regard it as a blasphemy to pretend that the Father of Greatness, i.e. Zrvān, created Good and Evil.

[4] *Acta Martyrorum et Sanctorum* ed. Bedjan, ii, 576 ff., 592. Th. Nöldeke, *Festgr. an R. v. Roth*, 34 ff. Schaeder, *Studien z. antiken Synkretismus*, 233 ; 353 ; *Warburg-Vortr.* iv, 1924–25, 141, believes these acts to reproduce an excerpt of a lost treatise by Theodoros of Mopsuhestia.

[5] Pognon, *Inscriptions mandaïtes des coupes de Khouābir*, 111.

attack Zervanism. Apparently the Zervanite conceptions were not throughout clear and they were intermingled with mythological, symbolical and astrological elements. It is not necessary to search for a primar source for all these authorities,[1] the necessity of combating the Zervanite theology in writings and in religious discussions being alone sufficient for explaining the similarity of the different Armenian and Syrian records.

The Muslim author aš-Šahrastānī reports of three Mazdaist opinions.[2] He calls them Zarāduštīya, Zarvānīya and Kayūmarthīya. Aš-Šahrastānī's sources cannot be traced. He came from Ḥorāsān from the border of Ḥvārizm and was an Aš'arite, a student of *fiqh*, *kalām* and *hadīth*, who considered religious questions from the point of view of Islāmic scholasticism. It is not impossible that he had personal contact with Zoroastrian circles, but he probably followed principally literary traditions. His declarations must not be taken as absolutely certain, but when using a certain dose of critic spirit, they yield interesting items. That the Zoroastrians were divided into parties can be inferred from Plutarchos.[3] The later Mazdaist literature speaks repeatedly of heretics, whose prototype is the Grəhma- of the Gāthās. Eznik and Elišē know of different currents of opinion among the Mazdaists.

3. *The Testimony of Eudemos of Rhodos*

The earliest mention of the Zervanite system could be found in a passage ascribed to Eudemos of Rhodos.[4] Eudemos belongs to the Peripatetic school and he was in Athens with

[1] The reports of Theodor bar Kōnai, Eznik and Elišē have been compared by A. Carrière, *La naissance d'Ormuzd et d'Ahriman*, Paris, 1900, cf. *Handes amsorya*, 1900, 183 ff. s. above p. 74,$_{3}$.

[2] 179 ff., ed. Cureton.

[3] *De Is.*, 46 ff., and the contention that Mithra- is the *μεσίτης* between light and darkness, an opinion unknown to the Avesta.

[4] ap. Damaskios, '*Απορίαι καὶ λύσεις* 125 bis, 322, ed. Ruelle.

Aristoteles. He wrote on astronomy, astrology [1] and theology, and his book τῶν περὶ τὸ θεῖον ἱστορία [2] appears to have treated the cosmogonies of Orpheus, Homer, Hesiod, Pherekydes, etc., as well as those of the Zoroastrians and other oriental religions, according to the impulse given by Aristoteles in the first book περὶ φιλοσοφίας.[3] Now Eudemos appears to have studied the question, what original causes were believed to be the starting point of creation. In an important fragment on the Babylonian cosmogony Eudemos seems to speak of the fact that the Babylonians apparently passed in silence over the question of the primar principle. At first sight it would therefore not be improbable that Eudemos mentioned the highest principle of the Mazdaist faith. But there is a number of doubtful points which already made J. Darmesteter believe that the Eudemos quoted by Damaskios was not the same as the well-known follower of Aristoteles.[4]

The testimony on the Babylonian theogony given by Eudemos is of importance because it corresponds to the Babylonian poem *Enuma eliš* and because it shows that Eudemos used trustworthy sources.[5] The explanations about the primar cause in the Persian religion ascribed to Eudemos seem, however, suspicious. Damaskios, who has conserved the quotations from Eudemos, occupied himself with the unity of the original being and wrote *Ἀπορίαι καὶ λύσεις περὶ τῶν πρώτων ἀρχῶν* as well as *Συγγράμματα περὶ ἀριθμοῦ καὶ τόπου καὶ χρόνου*.[6] This fact and the whole tendency of the philosophy of Damaskios make it probable that he interpreted into the text of Eudemos such notions as were familiar

[1] Cf. Simplikios, *Comm. in Aristot. de caelo*, 488, 19, ed. Heiberg. Diogenes Laërtios, i, 23; Clemens Alex., *Stromata*, i, 14.

[2] This work, falsely ascribed to Theophrastos by Diogenes Laërtios, v, 48, belongs to Eudemos. Usener, *Anal. Theophr.*, 17.

[3] W. Jaeger, *Aristoteles*, 238,$_{9}$.

[4] *Le Zend-Avesta*, i, 221,$_{10}$; iii, lxix,$_{9}$.

[5] Diogenes Laërtios, *prooem.*, 8 f., names Theopompos and Eudemos as reporting the Magian doctrine of immortality and resurrection. Cf. for Theopompos Aineias of Gaza, *Theophr.*, 72, ed. Boissonade.

[6] Simplikios, *Phys.*, 146a; 151a; 183a–185a; 189b.

to him. Now Damaskios belonged to those Neo-Platonists who had to leave Athens and who took refuge in Persia. Xosrau Anōšarvān allowed them to settle in Gundēšāpūr. It may be assumed that Damaskios got into touch with the then still reigning Zervanite theology and simply rendered his own impressions when he cited Eudemos. If the identification of the highest principle with time by Eudemos has to be abandoned, Eudemos' view as to the true nature of Zoroastrian dualism being confined to the differentiated nature is correct and this part of the quotation can therefore be in order.

But even when accepting the statement of Damaskios[1] as really belonging to Eudemos, the Zervanite system would only be shown to exist in the period of the late Achæmenian empire.[2] There are no other mentions of the Zervanite theology in the same period, all other classical authors down to the Sāsānid epoch knowing only the usual dualistic aspect of Mazdaism. For Dion Chrysostomos has, as will be shown below, probably only exposed Stoic conceptions of his time, perhaps mixing them up with some dim recollections of what he heard about the opinions of the Magians of Anatolia.

That the Mazdaist religion, certainly in the form contained in the Younger Avesta, was strongly influenced by the Babylonian doctrine and by other teachings is evident. In the development of the Mazdaist theology it seems, that the Magian element did much to amalgamate Babylonian and Iranian beliefs. The possible contact between Elam and Persia and between Assyria, the Haldians and Hittites and the Medes can here be left out of account. It is therefore very probable that even the Avestic mentions of the boundless time and of the time of the long period show already a

[1] M. Haug, *Essays on the Sacred Language, etc., of the Parsis*, 12, apparently ascribes to Damaskios the Zervanite views given as those of Eudemos.

[2] In a paper published by the R. Academy of Copenhagen, A. Christensen exposes the view that the Zervanite system can be traced to the Achæmenian epoch. *Études sur le Zoroastrisme de la Perse Antique*, 45 ff.

connection with notions current in Western Asia and that they represent Hellenistic speculations on Chronos and Aion, perhaps modified by Chaldæan conceptions. In this line of thought the use of Aramæan is of importance, this language being officially employed in the western parts of the Persian empire since the days of Dareios I.

IV

Mesopotamian Conceptions of Time

Already Spiegel in his *Eranische Altertumskunde* [1] has pointed to Babylonian conceptions as the possible origin of the Iranian theory of time as the first principle.[2] Other scholars have seen in the Zervanite system influences of the astral cults of Mesopotamia.[3] The combination of the veneration of time as supreme deity with the ideas of fate and space show their near connection with astrological notions. The age of astrology and of astronomical observations in Mesopotamia cannot be denied, although it is quite uncertain to what period the development of astrology as a science belongs. Even if the Chaldæan astronomers began from the eighth century B.C. onwards to measure the movements of the stars as such and not as religious or magic functions,[4] there is nevertheless no sign of the Chaldæans having proclaimed time as the highest principle. They knew of great world periods, just like the Egyptians or like the ages which Hesiodos treats, but absolute time was apparently unknown to them. It may be therefore assumed that the philosophical notion of absolute time did not develop in Mesopotamia without the influence of Greek thought. From

[1] ii, 9, 187; J. Darmesteter, *Ormuzd*, 319.

[2] The "Old man of the days" in Daniel, vii, 9, has first been compared to Zrvan- by Movers, *Phönizier*, i, 262.

[3] R. Eisler, *Weltenmantel*, ii, 505; F. Cumont, *Textes et monuments*, i, 20.

[4] *Synkellos*, 389, 20 ff., ed. Dindorf; Schnabel, *Berossos*, 163, 178; Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, 416; Cl. Ptolemæus, *Almagest*, iv, 5, ed. Heiberg; Kugler, *Sternkunde u. Sterndienst*, ii, 7 ff., 68 ff.; Gressmann, *Die hellenist. Gestirnrel.*, 6.

sixth century B.C. onwards Babylonia and Persia have been in touch with Greek elements. The Hellenistic period rendered this contact closer. Greek philosophy and science were studied in Babylonia. Kidinnu,[1] the Kidenas of the Greeks, and his successor Sudines as head of the school of astronomy at Sippar left Greek treatises written shortly after the death of Alexander the Great.[2] If these men did perhaps only use Greek for such books as were to be distributed throughout the Hellenistic world, it is in any case quite probable that they were not ignorant of the Greek studies, principally such as the Pythagoræan school had pursued. At an earlier period Eudoxos of Knidos had already taken a lively interest in the results of astronomical observations of an empirical nature which the oriental sages had taken up since old times. Eudoxos seems to have communicated his knowledge to Platon and to the Academy, amongst whose members a Chaldæan appears.[3] While Eudoxos condemns astrology as such, without telling us whether he knew it already as an organized system or only as an empirical collection of data, Platon apparently did not occupy himself with this science; partly inspired by Eudoxos he developed in the later stage of his philosophy an astral mysticism of great depth, but no astrological system.[4] The systematic study of the astronomical and astrological facts collected in the East begins under Greek impulse, and it is only in the period after Platon that astrology as a science seems to start. Berossos, the Babylonian priest,[5] held a school of astrology at Kos.[6]

[1] Kugler, *Im Bannkreis Babels*, 122. Bezold in Gundel-Boll-Bezold *Sternglaube*, 14, considers the identification of Kidinnu with Kidenas as probable, but not as absolutely certain.

[2] Vettius Valens, *Anthologia*, ix, 11, 352, 22 ff., ed. Kroll.

[3] W. Jaeger, *Aristoteles*, 133 f. The position taken up by Eudoxos towards astrology is illustrated by Cicero, *De div.*, ii, 42, 87, cf. Bezold-Boll, *Reflexe*, etc., 9 ff.

[4] Boll, *Sternglaube*, 25; Kerenyi, *Arch. f. Rel. Wiss.*, xxii, 245 ff.

[5] Lehmann Haupt, *Neue Studien zu Berossos*, Klio, xxii, 1928, gives the latest results of the study of the questions concerning Berossos.

[6] Vitruvius, *De architect.*, ix, 6, 2. According to Plinius, *Nat. Hist.*, vii, 123, a statue was erected for him at Athens.

He taught the great circle of cataclysms connected with the planets and with certain constellations. At the same time he exposed Babylonian theories on the moon. The scientific foundation of the heliocentric system discovered by Aristarchos of Samos was given by Seleukos from Seleukeia in Babylonia, called the Chaldæan.[1] All this shows that a keen scientific interest in astronomical questions prevailed at that time in Babylonia. It seems that the scholarly party amongst the Chaldæans did not approve of astrology, in which domain the ancient religious superstitions remained in power, if we believe an assertion of Strabon, apparently inspired by Poseidonios.[2] For the scientific consolidation of astrology the Greek work of Teukros the Babylonian completed in the first century A.D. was of the highest importance. In the East as in the West this book has been translated and used widely, amongst others by Varāhamihira.[3]

It is to the Hellenistic period that such movements as the Mithriacic cult, the description of the teachings of the Magi of Kappadokia by Dion Chrysostomos and other factors belong. Therefore it can be assumed that Greek influences have made themselves felt in all these phenomena. No other source can be given for the system, which considers time as the highest essence. The Chaldæan Bēl, the lord of fate as a Latin inscription calls him,[4] becomes the prototype of the highest god, ὕψιστος; as such we find Sabazios, the Jupiters of Doliche, of Heliopolis and other deities.[5] Kronos has often been thrown together with Chronos. As Saturn took in Babylonia in certain respects the place of the sun,[6] Kronos was

[1] Plutarchos, *Plat. quaest.*, viii, 1; *Strabon*, xvii, 1, 6.

[2] *Strabon*, loc. cit.

[3] J. V. Negelein, *ZDMG.*, n.s. vii, 2.

[4] *CIL.*, xii, 1227.

[5] F. Cumont, *Pauly-Wissowas Reallex*, 2nd ed., s.v. Hypsistos.

[6] Saturn was considered as the star of Ninurta-Ninib and at the same time as that of Šamaš; H. Rawlinson, *Cuneiform inscr. from Western Asia*, ii, pl. 49, 3, 19. In certain aspects Saturn is looked upon as the representative of the sun: *Cun. Texts from Babyl. Tablets*, xxv, 50; Jastrow, *Rel. Babyl. und Assyr.*, ii, 445, 483 ff.; Furlani, *La religione babilonese-assira*, i, 166.

identified with Helios and we find Êl-Kronos as the god of Byblos whom Philon of Byblos describes.[1] An African dwarf-god Bes who was adopted by the Egyptians and got mixed up with other deities has been considered as a god of time,[2] but a representation of his which has been ascribed to the sixth century B.C. shows him simply like Kronos-Êl with four wings and with astrological signs. In Phoenicia Bes was taken up like other Egyptian deities. Repeatedly Kronos-Saturn is considered as representative of the Ba'al šamēn, the lord of the heavens, so in Roman times in north Africa.[3] All such conceptions are syncretistic and the assimilation of Kronos to Ba'al or Êl in Syria and Phoenicia can only be traced to the beginning of the Hellenistic epoch.[4]

The notion of time is closely connected with that of fate. This conception again plays an important part in all astrological questions, every happening in the sublunar world being dependent upon the movement of the stars. The Near Eastern nations knew a goddess of fate under different names: Šimat, Sima, Manāt in Arabia.[5] For the Greeks this deity was Tyche, in Persia it is Baxt. Here, too, it is doubtful, whether the oriental goddess ever assumed the character of a personification of fate, before the East came into closer contact with the Greek teachings about τύχη, μοίρα, ἀνάγκη, and εἱμαρμένη. All over the Hellenistic Orient the local gods were assimilated to Greek conceptions and got mixed up with them. For Phoenicia and Asia Minor this process is very old. In Arabia the deities of fate, Manāt and Sa'd, may, as some

[1] Euseb., *Praep. ev.*, i, 10, 36 f.

[2] Gressmann, *Hellenist. Gestirnrel.*, 25.

[3] *CIL.*, viii, 8443, 8444, 8451, 8453. Although the cult of Mithras is found in the same place Sitifis, it is not necessary to connect this identification of Saturn and Ba'al šamēn with Mithriacism. For the monument of Sitifis cf. Cumont, *Textes et monuments*, i, 170, 405 f.

[4] R. Reitzenstein, *D. iran. Erlösungsmysterium*, 129.

[5] H. Zimmern, *Islamica*, ii. On Manāt and similar deities like Sa'd, Gad, 'Audh, cf. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, ii, 28 f. For Gad in Syria, etc., s. Jeremias, Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Religionsgesch.*, i, 4th ed., 628.

scholars believe, have been introduced from foreign countries, Arab names having been used for such conceptions, for the idea of fate and destiny (al Manīya) is not strange to the original Arab mind. In any case these abstract notions took a very concrete shape in Arabia and those new forms of perhaps old traditions do not seem to point any more to fatalism and to astrology.[1]

Now Marduk of Babylon, the Bēl rabū, the great lord, as successor of Enlil-Bēl of Nippur, is the master of fate.[2] His temple E-sagila at Babylon contains the chamber of destiny which was probably copied from that in the temple E-kur of Nippur, representing the heavenly hall of the gods.[3] It was believed that Marduk distributed the destinies on New Year's Day. The idea that the fate of the world and that of man are determined beforehand is old in Babylonia, but it cannot be decided with certainty, whether this conception was in early times already connected with the position and movement of the stars.[4]

Berossos, who was a priest of the Bēl of E-sagila and who dedicated his Βαβυλωνιακά to Antiochos I Soter,[5] seems to

[1] Wellhausen, loc. cit., 211. Certain hints to astral connections are contained in the Qur'ān, s. 53, 1; 81, 15 f. Besides al Manāt there remains al Manīya as a formless and unpersonal force (De Lacy O'Leary, *Arabia before Muhammad*, 195). This conception has been an important contribution of the Arabs to Islam, cf. W. Caskel, *Das Schicksal in der altarabischen Poesie*.

[2] M. Jastrow, *Rel. Bab. und Assyriens*, i, 110,$_{1}$; 289. A. Jeremias believes Marduk to have inherited from the son of Ea of Eridu the faculty of deciding destiny; *Handb. der altor. Geisteskultur*, 274 f., c. 238 f. Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Religionsgesch.*, i, 4th ed., 561, 569 ff. Marduk continues in general the parts of Enlil, Ea and Anu. For the whole question of the Babylonian conception of fate consult H. Zimmern, *Verh. d. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.*, 1918, 70, 5; *ZDMG.*, 1922, n. F. 1., and the article in *Islamica*, ii; Br. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, ii, 124 f., 130 f. As the heavenly scribe, Nabū is sometimes considered as the keeper of the tables of fate.

[3] Jastrow, loc. cit., 457, cf. 337, 2, 463.

[4] A. Jeremias, *Das alte Test. im Lichte des alten Orients*, 247 f., believes this, but other authorities utter more reserved opinions on this subject.

[5] Juba of Mauretania, *Περὶ Ἀσσυρίων*, according to Tatianus, *Or. ad Graecos*, c. 37, 38 ed. Schwartz, cf. Clemens Alex. *Stromata*, i, c. xxi, 122, 1 f., p. 391 s.; Eusebius, *Praep. ev.*, x, 11, 493.

have assimilated Bēl to Kronos. In his history of the Flood Berossos appears to have said that Kronos warned Xisuthros of the coming cataclysm.[1] On the other hand Bēl is translated by Zeus in Berossos' description of the origin of the world according to Oannes, but it is more probable that Alexander Polyhistor or even some later author simply tried to give an explanation of the Greek meaning of Bēl, which has nothing to do with Berossos himself.[2] The Armenian version of Eusebius' *Chronica*, which may belong to the fifth century A.D., distinguishes between Kronos as father of Aramazd called by some Zrvan, "time," and Bēl as Zeus-Aramazd.[3] Ps. Moses of Chorene, i, 6, apparently used some Sibylline book which goes back to Berossos; Berossos was later on even made to be the father of the Babylonian, Egyptian, or Jewish Sibylle.[4] In translating the verse which has come down to us in the *Oracula Sibyllina* iii, 110[5] Ps. Moses rendered Kronos in the usual way by Zrvan, giving the end of the verse Ἰαπετός τε as a name "Japetost'e". It is very probable that Berossos himself identified Kronos with Bēl. On the other hand Agathias writing in the sixth century A.D. pretends that according to Berossos Zeus and Bēl were identified by the Persians.[6] A number of details like the employing of the term ἐκπύρωσις point to Berossos' intimate knowledge of Greek philosophy and religious thought, a fact which cannot surprise in a man who was the leader of a school of astrology in Kos.[7] He and other oriental circles were apparently familiar with the speculations on Kronos and Chronos[8] and it

[1] Berossos fr. 34 = Eusebius *ap. Syncellum* 53, 19 ff. ed Dindorf.
[2] Berossos fr. 12 = Eusebius *ap. Syncellum*, 52, 1 ff.–53, 15, ed. Dindorf. On the nature of the text of Alexander Polyhistor which Eusebius had before him cf. Schnabel, *Berossos*, 134 ff.
[3] Eusebius, *Chron.*, x, 19 ff.; 7, 29 ff., ed. Karst.
[4] *Pausanias*, x, 12, 9. Suidas s.v. Sibylla, *Justinus, coh. ad gentiles*, c. 37.
[5] ed. Geffcken.
[6] *Agathias*, ii, 24, ed. Niebuhr.
[7] s. above, p. 80.
[8] *Macrobius*, i, 837; Proclus, *Plat. Theolog.* v, 3 ff.; in Timaeum, 295, B. 8.

is evidently here that the system rose which gave time the pre-eminence as the primar principle of the world. That Berossos was acquainted with the rationalistic explanation of mythology current in certain Greek circles appears from the curious way in which he treats the ancient Babylonian legends of the origin of the world, presenting them as pure symbols. Berossos may be regarded as the ultimate source from which Diodoros of Tarsos, Theodoros of Mopsuhestia and others drew their knowledge.

As we have no clue leading from purely Iranian premises to the Zervanite system, it will be safe to assume that this belief did only come into existence when the Babylonian ideas on Bēl-Marduk as the lord of destiny had been combined with Greek philosophical speculations on time. The monotheistic tendencies which the Gāthās show may have rendered certain Iranians more ready to accept such theories. It must be remembered that Mazdaist Mages and Chaldæan priests were in close contact just in Babylon. The Zervanite theology which dominated at any rate at the beginning of the Sāsānid epoch, can therefore be defined as the result of a combination of Chaldæan and Greek influences on Iranian thought.

V

Greek and Hellenistic Speculations on Time

Speculations on time, Chronos, as the first principle seem to be connected with the Orphic and Pythagoræic school. The original ἱερὸς λόγος of the Pythagoræans appears to have identified the sacred number four with the seasons; this doctrine was in any case known to Aristotle and to Androkydes.[1] According to other opinions ascribed to the school of Pythagoras, the world is a living organism which creates through breathing out of an airy boundlessness space and time, these two being the *principia individuationis* which

[1] K. Joël, *Gesch. der antiken Philos.*, i, 354.

allow the plurality to come into existence.[1] Little enough is known about the teachings of Pythagoras and his immediate followers. In any case, this school, which was organized like an order, somehow took up the cosmogonic speculations ascribed to Orpheus and other mystical seers. Already Herodotos[2] declares the so-called Orphic and Bacchic doctrines for Egyptian and Pythagoræic. The possibility of an Egyptian origin of such speculations can be left out of account, but it is significant that the Orphic teachings appeared to Herodotos to have been influenced by Pythagoras. In these circles speculations on Kronos and Chronos seem to have been spread. The cosmogony of Pherekydes (sixth century B.C.) as contained in his ἑπτάμυχος began with the following sentence: Ζεὺς μὲν καὶ χρόνος εἰς ἀεὶ καὶ χθὼν ἦν.[3] Here we see time considered as one of the eternal principles. Pherekydes takes up an intermediate position between Orphic speculations and philosophy.

A very profound definition of time is given by Platon in his dialogue *Timaios*.[4] He distinguishes there between absolute time, eternity, remaining a unity and its image which moves according to numbers and which is bound to the world of appearance. This time is nothing but the rhythmically moving simile (εἰκών) of Timelessness. The sun, the moon, and the other five planets are said to have been created through the rational reflection of God on time. It must not be overlooked that Timaios, whose words Platon pretends to reproduce, is a Pythagoræan philosopher.

Here again the notion of time is connected with astronomy. Platon mentions the so-called "great year", i.e. the period

[1] K. Joël, loc. cit., 373.

[2] ii, 81, cf. 123.

[3] Diogenes Laërtios, i, 119. The title of the prose work of Pherekydes is sometimes given as *Πεντέμυχος*. That Pherekydes calls Zeus Zâs, the living, is of no importance for the problem of time. It must be noted that for Pherekydes time is not the highest principle, but only one of the eternal factors.

[4] *Timaios*, 37, 38.

which is thought to revolve once during a certain epoch of the world. Such periods are known to Eastern nations like the Babylonians and the Egyptians, although the way of computing the time is in each case different. The doctrine of the various ages of the world is already exposed by Hesiodos. Herakleitos and Euripides speak of Aion as a young boy [1] rendering poetically concrete the spiritual conception of the great world period. Aion, in the meaning of a certain period, is only relative time, while Chronos is time in the absolute sense.[2] The theory of the Great Year is known to Aristoteles and to Theopompos. Notions of the oriental doctrines about the Great Year may have been brought to Greece by the astronomer Eudoxos, a friend of Platon, who visited Egypt, but the idea itself is not strange to Greek speculation. Therefore the news introduced by Eudoxos from the East may only have fomented the interest for the whole question, but he did not give a new notion to Greek philosophy. Aristoteles developed in his work περὶ οὐρανοῦ the theology of Aion on the lines of Platon's indications,[3] on the other hand time is according to Aristoteles a number concerning movement by reference to before and after, but time is a number which cannot exist without a counting being, i.e. it is no absolute number.[4]

It is a well-known fact that just the *Timaios* influenced strongly the speculations of later philosophers, especially those of the Stoic school.[5] Amongst this school oriental tendencies were strongly pronounced. Already Zenon, the

[1] *Herakleitos*, fr. 52; Euripides, *Heraklid.* 900: *Αἰὼν χρόνου παῖς*, treating Chronos as the higher and more comprehensive notion.

[2] U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Euripides' Herakles* ii, 2nd ed., 155. Platon distinguishes between the two notions, *Anth. Pal.*, ix, 51: humanity owes to Aion individuality, name and shape, but the *δολιχοδρόμος χρόνος* alters everything.

[3] W. Jaeger, *Aristoteles*, 318, *περὶ οὐρανοῦ*, A, 9, e. B, 1 on *ἄπειρος χρόνος*.

[4] *Phys.*, iv, 11 p. 219 b 1, 8; 220 a, 24. The notion of time comes according to Aristoteles from two sources, from the soul and from movement.

[5] c. R. M. Wenley, *Stoicism and its Influence*, London, 1925.

founder of the Stoa, came from a town with a mixed population,[1] for Kittion was a Greek city with numerous Phoenician inhabitants. Chrysippos was a Cilician like his pupil Zenon of Tarsos, who must not be confounded with his namesake, Zenon of Kittion. Diogenes of Seleukeia on the Tigris was called the Babylonian; Tarsos was the birthplace of both Antipater and Athenodoros. While Panaitios of Rhodos did not recognize astrological and mantic practices, the Syrian Poseidonios of Apameia did a great deal to diffuse Platonic, Aristotelic and Pythagorean doctrines in the Eastern hemicycle. His commentary on *Timaios* is said to have been the starting point of many movements.[2]

The Hellenistic period brings the cult of a deity *αἰών*, the great world-epoch. This god appears first in the Egypt of the Ptolemæan dynasty. In Egypt, Aion seems to have been identified with a native god of the earth and of harvest, and he became the tutelar deity of Alexandria.[3] The feast of Aion was celebrated on the 6th of January, and this date was fixed in 1996 B.C., as some eminent scholars have been able to demonstrate.[4] Aion was mixed up with Dionysos [5] and there seem to have existed relations between the mysteries of Aion

[1] Cicero, *De nat. deor.*, i, 36, says that Zenon taught a mystic doctrine of time, but this testimony has mostly been interpreted in the way that Cicero gives Epicurean views of Zenon's opinion.

[2] It may be mentioned that it has been denied by certain scholars that Poseidonios ever wrote a commentary to *Timaios*, cf. K. Reinhardt, *Poseidonios*, 1921; *Kosmos und Sympathie*, 1926. This opinion does, however, not seem founded. According to K. Reinhardt, Poseidonios was the first Greek philosopher who proclaimed the mystical correspondence between macrocosm and microcosm, thus introducing this ancient oriental conception into the Stoic philosophy.

[3] R. Reitzenstein, *Nachr. d. Gött. Ges. d. Wiss.*, 1904, 317 ff.

[4] c. K. Sethe, *Nachr. d. Gött. Ges. d. Wiss.*, 1919, 287 ff., Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Altertums*, I, ii, 3rd ed., § 163. E. Norden, *Die Geburt des Kindes*, 38 f. The birthday of the sun was celebrated in Alexandria on December 24th–25th. At the time of the foundation of Alexandria, 331 B.C., this date corresponded to that of the winter solstice.

[5] About the cult of Dionysos in the temple of Jerusalem and the festival introduced by the Seleukides cf. Kern, *Archiv. f. Rel. Wiss.*, xxii, 198; F. Willrich, loc. cit., xxiv, 1926, 170.

and those of Osiris.[1] The Nabatæan god Dusares whom the Greeks considered as a form of Dionysos or Helios was honoured by a festival resembling that of the Alexandrian Aion; we further hear about such celebrations from Syria.[2] This Hellenistic *αἰών* need not be connected with Iranian conceptions. It seems to be a deification of the idea of the great world-epoch, evolved in Lagide Egypt.[3]

Philosophically, the very ancient ideas contained in the cult of Aion under various shapes were propagated by the Stoa and the notion of Aion was combined with that of fate, *μοῖρα*. From the Stoic school, principally represented by Poseidonios, these speculations passed into other systems, into the mysteries and all the varied schools of theological thought which sprang up in Hellenistic times. We have seen that the Stoic ideas can be followed up to Greek precedents and that influences flowed in from various oriental sources. On the other hand, the philosophers spread the doctrine of Aion; we find it in Rome at the time of Sylla and Caesar, and Aion was identified there with Janus.[4]

The mixture of philosophical and religious conceptions appears in such phenomena like the cult of Mithras. This Iranian deity became the centre of a syncretistic religion based on mysteries. How far Iranian elements combined with "Chaldæan", Anatolian and Greek notions cannot be

[1] Cf. Damaskios in his life of the Neo-Platonician Isidoros of Alexandria = Photius Bibl., 242, see R. Asmus, *Byzant. Ztschr.*, xviii, 19.

[2] K. Holl, *Berl. Sitzungsber.*, 1917, 428; Wilh. Weber, *Arch. für Rel. Wiss.*, xix, 1919, 330 ff. On an Arabian festival cf. R. Eisler, *Arch. f. Rel. Wiss.*, 1924, 631 f.

[3] Cf. Zepf, "Der Gott *Αἰών* in der hellenistischen Theologie," *Arch. f. Religionswiss.*, xxv, 1927, 225, ff. The whole problem has been studied by Jul. Kaerst *Gesch. des Hellenismus*, ii, 2nd ed., 239 ff., where the spontaneity of the Greek conceptions is underlined. Valuable works on the question are due to E. Norden, *Die Geburt des Kindes*, W. Weber, *Der Prophet und sein Gott*, to H. Junker, loc. cit., to Weinreich, *Archiv. f. Religionswiss.*, xix, 174 ff., to Lackeit, *Aion*, i and ii, to J. Kroll, *Die Lehren des Hermes Trismegistos*, 67 ff., and especially to R. Reitzenstein in his numerous studies.

[4] *Lydus de mens.*, iv, 1, p. 64, 12 Wünsch; cf. R. Reitzenstein, *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium*, 210 f., 211,₄.

determinated in every detail. In any case, Greek notions play a very prominent part in the Mithriacism which can be followed through the Roman Empire. It must be borne in mind that already the Achaemenian religion was evidently strongly influenced by Elam and Babylonia, while Hittite and Ḫaldian conceptions may have been important for the development in Media. Now the figure of an original god Kronos is known to Mithriacism.[1] The representations of this god show a mixture of oriental types. Besides monuments, which belong to Mithriacism, there are similar figurations on coins of Mallos in Cilicia giving Ēl-Kronos or on those of Byblos corresponding to the description given by Philon of Byblos of the winged god.[2] Even if Iranian factors have to be taken into consideration it is probable that the speculations about Kronos in the Mithriacic cult were dependent on the Stoic doctrines. In any case the Mithriacic ideas are of no avail for settling the question of the age of Zervanism in Iran proper.

The same can be said about the interesting description which Dion Chrysostomos of Prusa [3] gives of Persian religious beliefs of eastern Anatolia. This passage reflects Stoic opinions and not ancient beliefs of the Magi of Asia Minor. We can therefore not follow the different conclusions which have been founded on Dion Chrysostomos' mention of the horses of the sun, etc. It is certain that he and other authors of his time possessed a certain knowledge of Persian religious beliefs, but just like Herodotos they were apt to draw comparisons with Greek conceptions and to interpret Greek ideas into their description of Iranian conceptions. Therefore the mention of an original principle " *ἄπαυστον ἐν ἀπαύστοις αἰῶνος περιόδοις* " does not refer to the doctrine of Zrvan- akarana-,

[1] F. Cumont, *Textes et monuments*, i, 74 ff.

[2] Eusebius, *Praep. ev.*, i. 10, 36 f. For the coins of Mallos cf. J. de Morgan, *Numismatique orientale*, 62 f.

[3] *Or.* 36, 39 f., ed de Arnim. Dion lived from about A.D. 40–120; cf. Jackson, *Grds. d. iran. Phil.*, ii, 671. for the Greek influences reflected by Dion. His doctrines combine Stoic and Cynic notions, cf. Kafka-Eibl, *Der Ausklang der antiken Philosophie*, 77.

but it reflects simply speculations generally current at the time of Dion, the well-known Stoic teaching of the revolving periods of the world.

The tomb of king Antiochos I of Kommagene on the Nimrūd Dāgh has often been adduced as a proof of Zervanite conceptions. This semi-Persian monarch is proud of the Achæmenian descent to which he pretends like the dynasts of Pontos or of Kappadokia, while the house of Kommagene is at the same time linked with that of Seleukos, the founder of the little kingdom Mithradates Kallinikos having married Laodike, daughter of Antiochos VIII Grypos. Persian and Greek deities are named together in the inscriptions [1] of this monument and the representations of these gods are typical for the religious syncretism of the Hellenistic period. Identifications similar to those used by Antiochos I of Kommagene are known from Armenia, where dynasties were founded after the battle of Magnesia by two generals of the Seleukids, Artaxias and Zariadres, the descendants of Artaxias reigning in Armenia proper and those of Zariadres governing Sophene.

Now Antiochos I mentions the *ἄπειρος αἰών* and the *χρόνος ἄπειρος*. If the boundless Aion does not simply mean the eternity which receives the king after his death, the passage could be so constructed as to infer that the king's body is to rest till the boundless eternity begins [2] and this might be the Zrvan- akarana- of the Avesta, not however Zrvan- as Kronos or the supreme god. It seems preferable to see in the *ἄπειρος αἰών* of the Nimrūd Dāgh only eternity in the sense in which Aristotle uses this expression.[3] Again nothing else is meant by the expression *χρόνος ἄπειρος*. This boundless Chronos is to regulate the succession in Kommagene according to the *μοίρα* of the different genera-

[1] Cf. Dittenberger, *Orientis graeci inscr. sel.*, Leipzig, 1903, no. 383; L. Jalabert and R. Mouterde, *Inscr. grecques et latines de la Syrie*, fasc. i; *Commagène et Cyrrhestique*, Paris, 1927, No. 1; cf. A. Wilhelm, *Wiener Studien*, 1929, 127.

[2] H. Gressmann, *Die hellenistische Gestirnreligion*, 23 f.

[3] *περὶ οὐρανοῦ*, B 1.

tions of humanity. It is in any case quite impossible to identify this Chronos with the Zrvan- darəghō̆χvadhāta-, Chronos being the more comprehensive notion which alone could render Zrvan- akarana-. But it seems unnecessary to search in the Kommagene inscription for proofs of the Iranian belief in Zrvan- as the highest deity, the passages referred to being easily explained by the teachings of Hellenistic philosophy without having to go back to any oriental conception in particular.

The monument of Antiochos I of Kommagene is imbibed. with the spirit of astrology. It is typical and quite comprehensible that the speculations on time are in close contact with those on fate and the influence of the stars on the world.[1]

At a much later period, about A.D. 400, the Alexandrine poet Claudianus describes the primar god Aevum immensum in his cave which is encircled by a snake.[2] Alexandria was, as we have seen, a centre of the cult of Aion. The Kronos of Mithriacism is generally represented as a deity with a lion's head. A serpent is twisted round this figure. It need not be denied that Claudianus may have heard of the Persian Zervanism, but it is not necessary to look there for a prototype of Claudianus' Aevum immensum, the more so as we hear nowhere of an Iranian belief connecting Zrvan- with a serpent. The Alexandrine surroundings with their mixture of creeds and philosophies explain by themselves the interesting poem of Claudianus.

VI

The Development of Zervanism

1. *The probable epoch of Zervanism*

It is possible to connect monotheistic tendencies in Mazdaism with the teachings of Zarathuštra. The doctrine of the Gāthās knows a spiritual deity reigning supreme in the non-corporal

[1] Cf., however, H. H. Schaeder, *Warburg-Vorträge*, iv, 1927, 140, 1.
[2] *De consulatu Stilichonis*, ii, 424 ff.

world. But the "wise Lord" of Zarathuštra was not considered by him to be time. Such notions were quite foreign to Zarathuštra. His Ahura- Mazda-, the supreme god, is of a different stamp. Whether he represents somehow an offspring of the so-called original monotheism (monotheistic preanimism) of primitive nations as taught by Andrew Lang, is another question, which can remain untouched here.[1]

The original doctrine of the Gāthās fell into oblivion. Under the Achaemenian kings a polytheistic creed can be traced. Ancient Aryan beliefs were taken up again, or, if they ever had been forgotten, they were connected with the preaching attached to the name of Zarathuštra. For it must not be left out of mind that Zarathuštra's field of work lay in eastern Iran and that his doctrine, already misunderstood, only spread slowly in other parts of the country. There are a number of passages in the Avesta showing this process. Ahura- Mazda- is made to sacrifice to deities, which are received in the pantheon. Bloody sacrifices and the cult of Haoma-, both rejected by Zarathuštra, are in use. These facts may be explained as the result of a compromise between the popular belief and the reform of the great prophet of eastern Iran, ending in his monotheistic and spiritual teaching being superseded by a polytheistic creed. Besides Aryan elements a number of influences can be traced pointing to western Asia. The Persian conquest of Babylonia and before it the annihilation of the Assyrian empire by the Medes mark the beginning of this development.

It is outside of the scope of the present study to trace here the different stages of the Mazdayasnian evolution. Besides some testimonies from classical sources, there remain only the Avestan texts and the Persian inscriptions. This material is incomplete, but still it offers many clues. The texts of the Avesta belong to very different periods and they have been

[1] Cf. P. W. Schmidt, *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee*, i, 2nd ed., 1926, principally chap. iv. See, however, R. Pettazzoni, *Dio*; J. G. Frazer, *Worship of Nature*, i, 20; Haydon, *Journal of Religion*, 1926, 24.

manipulated at a late epoch, when their language was no more understood.

It is quite possible that the idea of Zrvan- akarana- itself even in the rather shadowy aspect of this notion retained in the Avesta is not older than the Hellenistic period, when the conception of absolute time became familiar to the East. The theory of the periods of the worlds can be however assigned to earlier epochs. This doctrine was familiar to Aristoteles,[1] and to Theopompos.[2] About 300 B.C. it was certainly known in Greece.[3] It is useless to demonstrate here how far the doctrine of a succession of ages of the world is diffused. In any case this teaching is not typically Iranian. But it is of importance that such speculations are only possible when a system of calculating time has been evolved—apart from the simple notion of a golden age and of a lost paradise, a conception which may be as old as human thinking. In the eyes of the Aryans the sky was originally a vault of stone behind which there was fire. The sun, the moon and the stars were openings in the heavenly vault.[4] This is a very different primitive conception than the complicated periods during which Ahura- Mazda- and Anra- manyu- are imagined to fight out their war.

The contact between the Aryan Iranians and western Asia can be old. Nevertheless the opinion that time is absolute and that it is the supreme principle does not seem to have been diffused among the Iranians before Greek philosophy became familiar to the East.[5]

Many details let the Parthian epoch appear as the starting point of the new Zervanite theology. Under the Arsakides,

[1] W. Jaeger, *Aristoteles*, 136.

[2] Born 376 B.C., cf. Plutarchos, *De Iside et Osiride* 46 s.

[3] H. Junker, *Warburg-Vorträge*, i, 1921–22, 146.

[4] Without following his deductions about the age of Zarathuštra, of the Vedas, and other details, attention may be drawn to the merit of Joh. Hertel in exposing clearly this early conception proper to the Aryan mind.

[5] Zervanism has been considered as a very ancient doctrine by R. Eisler, *Weltenmantel*, ii, 518 f.; Alfaric, *Revue d'hist. et litt. rel.*, vii, 1921, 1 ff.; cf. Reitzenstein, *Hellenist. Mysterienrel.*, 3rd ed., 360; H. Lommel, *Die Religion Zarathustras*, Tübingen, 1930, p. 23 ff.

the ancient texts of the Avesta were collected. At the same time the Parthian rulers remained on good terms with the Greeks living in their realm, and Babylonia was one of the centres of the empire. As nomad conquerors, coming from the steppes of inner Asia, the Arsakides formed an aristocracy, leaving the subject races and local rulers undisturbed. Atropatene with the neighbouring parts and the Persis [1] were apparently centres of the Magian priesthood [2] and there perhaps some of the ancient traditions were preserved of the once monotheistic teaching of Zarathuštra. Greek and Babylonian traditions were not unknown to these priests, and it is in such circles that the new theology rose, recognizing absolute time as the first principle. Whether the Parthian clergy or that of the vassal principality of Pārs developed the Zervanite system, cannot be determinated with absolute certainty. It is worthy of notice that, according to Andreas, the Manichæan fragments in the Arsakide dialect never use the term Zurvōn as designation of the highest god, but replace this expression by " father ".[3] This points to the south-west of Persia as the more probable origin of Zervanism. Even if the roots of this dogma should lie in earlier periods, Zervanism did not become a recognized system before the end of the Parthian dynasty.[4] At least there are no earlier testimonies left than the remains of Mānī's writings, and these reckon with the Zervanite system as the official theology of the epoch, although in the scarce fragments to be attributed to Mānī himself Zrvān is not mentioned. But as he called the

[1] The two Middle-Iranian languages correspond to these centres: Pahlavīk and Pārsīk.

[2] On their coins the Frataraka, Governors, of Pārs call themselves " of godly descent " like the Sāsānid sovereigns, " the spiritual offspring of the gods ".

[3] Waldschmidt-Lentz, *Berl. Abh.*, 1926, 4, 71. Zurvōn designates in the northern dialect always " age " (Andreas, loc. cit.), i.e. = avestic Zarvan-.

[4] J. Scheftelowitz, *Ztschr. f. Indol. u. Iran.*, iv, 334, believes that Zervanism cannot be older than the introduction of astrology into Iran and that this system is post-Christian (loc. cit. 343).

"Son" of the "Father of Light", the Primeval Man, Ohrmazd, Zrvān must have designated the supreme god, and later Manichæan texts use, therefore, Zrvān as the denomination of the highest Being. As Mānī was born under the rule of the last Arsakide and became acquainted with the Mazdaist religion in his youth, the Zervanite system must have been in vigour already then and must have rendered dualistic views more or less obsolete, because it would undoubtedly have been easier for Mānī to connect his dualistic religion with Mazdaism in its usual form.[1] In any case he would have called himself a reformer of such a dualistic Zoroastrianism, but the monotheistic creed of the Mazdaistic clergy of his epoch was absolutely contrary to his system. Just this circumstance offers with other items an explanation for the violent enmity with which Mānī was pursued by the Mōbēdhs.[2]

That Dion Chrysostomos apparently only exposes Stoic views under the disguise of Persian opinions or that he interpreted them at least in this way has already been stated. But if the passage Or. 36, 42, ed. de Arnim, should really refer to Zrvan- as the supreme god, this testimony would again bring us to the Parthian epoch. The whole passage leaves, however, the impression as if Dion only wanted to express his own philosophical ideas according to the current notions of the Stoic school.

As far as the outside history of Zervanism is concerned,

[1] Mānī's system belongs to the Gnostic line and he was probably influenced by Bardesanes, by the Markionites, and by the sect known to Islamic authors as the Mughtasila. Manichæism is non-Iranian in spirit and Mānī adopted Mazdaist names and conceptions only to show that his new creed was the completion of the existing religions. Christian authors sometimes put Zervanism and Manichæism on the same line like Esnik of Kolb, 115 ff.

[2] If Philon *In Gen.*, i. 100, means Persian notions when he says according to Aucher's rendering of the alone extant Armenian translation "*tempus ut Cronus vel Chronus ab hominum pessimis putatur deus*", this testimony would prove the existence of *Zervanism* for the first century A.D. But it is not known to what creed Philon alludes; the most probable thing would be to think of the Alexandrine cult of Aion.

the result of the present investigation may be presented in the following way:—

In the Parthian epoch the reminiscences of the originally monotheistic tendency of Zarathuštra's doctrine seem to have led to a new system, combining Iranian motives with Hellenistic philosophical conceptions and with astrological notions. This theology considered absolute time as the first principle. It is probable that south-western Persia and Babylonia were the principal strongholds of the new creed, which was at first officially recognized under the Sāsānian kings. Whether Zervanism ever was dominant under the Arsakides cannot be stated, though the teaching itself must have existed already before the Sāsānian dynasty. In defending the Zoroastrian position against the Christians, principally in Armenia, Babylonia and Mesopotamia, it was favourable for the Mōbēdhs to be able to prove that Mazdaism was monotheistic in its tendency.

When the dualistic current was recognized as the alone orthodox one, can only be fixed approximately. Both theological systems may have existed beside each other, before the Dualists gained the victory. Under Yezdegerd II the Zervanite system was apparently still officially recognized if we assume the edict of Mihr-narsēh to represent at least some remains of an authentical tradition.[1] Religious movements are reported under the reign of Šāhpuhr II, but just the fifth century offers testimonies of the supremacy of Zervanism. The first serious attacks on this dogma may refer to the new translation of the Avesta texts into Pahlavī under Xosrau I. The quotation from Damaskios concerning the so-called passage of Eudemos the Rhodian seems however to speak for Zervanism having remained in favour under that enlightened ruler, while Xosrau II Āparvēz ordered new comments of the

[1] Gelzer, *Ztschr. f. armen. Philol.*, i, 149 ff.; Pettazzoni, *La religione di Zarathustra*, 197, believes Yezdegerd himself to have been an adherent of Zervanism, what can apparently be said too of other Sāsānian monarchs.

sacred literature to be undertaken.[1] This period would appear to be a fit time for the victory of dualism.

In the eastern parts of Iran and in central Asia Zervanism seems to have remained longer in force. Even the latest Manichæan fragments retain the name Zrvān for the "Father of light", the highest Manichæan deity. Lamaistic Mongols use for Brahma the Manichæan designation Āzrua, Zrvān, and call Indra Ōhrmazd.[2] The eastern Iranian dialects often identify Ōhrmazd with the sun.[3] In these regions he was therefore not considered as the highest god, but as a heavenly force depending on a supreme Being.

2. *The Zervanite Doctrine*

The religious system founded by Zarathuštra does not explain clearly why the purely spiritual Wise Lord allowed the corporal world to come into existence and where the evil came from. These questions seem to have puzzled the priests who worked out the theology of time as the highest principle. They tried to show how Zrvan- came to let the world be created. We cannot expect a purely philosophical deduction. The whole doctrine was intermingled with symbolic and mythological elements, giving the teaching a phantastic appearance.

The starting point must have been astrological considerations. Damaskios makes Eudemos say that the Magians call the highest principle Space or Time. Theodoros of Mopsuhestia has instead, fate, τύχη. This corresponds to the Iranian Baxt, a conception which we find in the Mēnūk i χrat.[4] It is evident that in the sense of astrology time as the absolute consequence was identical with destiny, fate coming in the

[1] Haug, *Essay on Pahlavi*, 147.

[2] Chavannes and Pelliot, *Un traité manichéen*, 513-4, 2, 520 n., 543.

[3] Sten Konow, *Manuscript remains of Buddhist Literature found in eastern Turkestan*, i, 219, 281; H. Junker ap. Joh. Hertel, *Die Sonne und Mithra im Awesta*, 263; *Das Awestaalphabet*, 106,$_9$.

[4] H. Junker, *Warburg-Vorträge*, i, 1921-22, 142, 171$_{sq.}$, shows that the opposition of *baxt* and *bāgh baxt* points to different sources having been used in working out the text of the Mēnūk i χrat.

fixed moment. While the Iranian text co-ordinates Zrvān and Baxt, it calls both rulers (Pādišāh), thus permitting to assume that the two are really the same. For a philosopher like Damaskios it was not astonishing, that he considered as identical the temporal consequence as time and the expanse as space. He is however the only author ascribing such doctrines to the Iranians. In the younger Avesta we have seen airy Space or ether (Thwāša-) mentioned with the two aspects of time as an absolute conception and as the worldly aion. Air, i.e. wind, Vayu-, and ether seem to have been distinguished, but probably not in a very early period. In the Pahlavī literature alone Akaša-, absolute space, is mentioned, not in the Avesta. But this notion is not treated as being the same as time. Therefore the passage of Damaskios-Eudemos remains obscure. Perhaps the designation of Zrvan- akarana-, Thwāša-, Anaghra- raočah-, Vayu- and Misvan- gātu as χvadhāta- would offer a certain clue, if χvadhāta- is taken as "self-created", not as "ruler", but the latter sense is the more probable, χvadhāta- meaning "following its own laws"; furthermore, the enumerated notions are co-ordinated, not subordinated to Zrvan-. An explanation could be obtained if we believe the Zervanites to have regarded time, light, and space as one essence with different aspects.[1]

The sages tried to ascertain the designs of Time and Fate by studying the sky and the movement of the stars. The complicated system of classical astrology gives specified meanings to every aspect and to every constellation. The planets, including sun and moon, govern the destinies through their position in the twelve signs of the Zodiac.[2] Now evil

[1] c. Schaeder, *Warburg-Vorträge*, iv, 1924–25, 141 ff.; Junker, *Wörter und Sachen*, xii, 153 ff.; but see Christensen, *Etudes*, 53_{3}.

[2] In the Iranian version of the Manichaean doctrine the twelve signs of the Zodiac are the daughters of Zrvān. *Šikand gumānīk vičār*, 16, 29 f. ed. West, 170, transl. *SBE.*, xxiv, 245; Salemann, *Ein Bruchstück manichaeischen Schrifttums*, 19; F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le Manichéisme*, 60 f. By using Nēryōsang's Sanskrit translation H. H. Schaeder, *Warburg-Vort.* iv, 1924–25, 83, text of 82, 2, has been able to explain this difficult passage.

forebodings attach to some planets, but only in certain aspects. Yet the Mazdaist astrological traditions treat the planets throughout as nefarious powers, an opinion which the Avesta reflects indirectly in so far as Tištrya-, Vanant-, Satavaēsa- and Haptōiringa- are the keepers of heaven. But no stars are yet opposed to these keepers, who resemble the Indian Lokapālas more than anything else. The condemnation of the planets which the books in Pahlavī pronounce cannot be original[1]; besides some of these demonic beings like Hvar- χšaēta- and Māh-, Vərəthraghna- and Anāhita- are Yazata-s; Tīr-, Mercury, appears in names and on coins. He was replaced in the sacred texts by Tištrya-.[2] The Avestan calendar retains the ancient names, showing a number of planetary gods as Ahuric beings, amongst them Ahura-Mazda- himself as Jupiter. Later on legends have efforced themselves to explain the fact that names of the good creation have been attached to daēvic powers. The circumstance alone that the planets are in the eyes of the Zoroastrian astrologer evil beings, proves the comparative independence of the Magian system. The Magians were known as competent astrologists already in classical times. Tištrya- had replaced Tīr-, when Plutarchos got acquainted with the Iranian system, for he mentions Seirios as the principal star.[3] The Mēnūk i χrat, a treatise with Zervanite tendencies, describes the part played by the sun, the moon and the twelve signs of the Zodiac on the side of Ōhrmazd.[4] The seven planets, the leaders of the army of Ahriman, are opposed to the Ahuric constellations.[5] The 'Ulemā i Islām have an altered con-

[1] Cf. I. Scheftelowitz, *Entst. d. manich. Religion*, 10.

[2] *Yašt*, xiii, 120, has the name of a Mazdayanian Tīrōnakathwa-.

[3] *De Iside et Osiride*, c. 47.

[4] When the signs of the Zodiac were taken over by the Iranians is difficult to state. A. Weber has thought of the similarity of the Iranian Zodiac and that propagated by the school of Bardesanes, *Berliner Abhdlg.*, 1860, 326 ff. cf. Spiegel, *Die traditionelle Literatur der Parsen*, 99.

[5] Sun and moon appear here on the side of Ōhrmazd, but at the same time they belong to the seven generals of Ahriman. This shows the syncretistic character of the whole tradition.

ception, the names of the planets having been replaced by such of demons. Again the Rivāyat cod. xii suppl. Anquetil, distinguishes evil and beneficious planets.

The Armenians replaced the name of Saturnus, Kēvān, by Zrvan (Zrovan)[1]; we find in Armenia this designation too as the translation for Kronos. Here an Iranian influence is to be felt only in so far as the Armenians took Zrvan- in the meaning of Chronos-Kronos. The Bundahišn c 2 makes Kēvān the principal leader of the dark forces. If other deities including sun and moon have been considered as nefarious planets, it cannot surprise to find Kēvān-Zrvān in this company.

Eznik declares that Zrvan can be translated by Baxt, "destiny," and by P'ark', "glory".[2] Theodoros of Mopsuhestia only has τύχη. P'ark' corresponds to the Avestic *χ*ᵛ*arənah-*. It may be remembered that Šahrastānī makes Zrvan- proceed from light, this being then the first and highest principle. Anaghra- raočah-, the lights without beginning, are known to the Avesta, and the *χ*ᵛ*arənah-* is a form of light. Whether the Zervanites considered time, space, and light as different aspects of the same essence, cannot be decided. The possibility of such a conception may however be kept in mind.

On the whole the Zervanite theology apparently found a number of theoretical difficulties to surmount. It is not clear why Zrvan- started the creation. Even if it was admitted that he called into being the elements of good, the existence of evil is not to be accounted for. In this connection the Gāthic teaching itself has to face problems without solving them. The system of the Zervanites apparently tried to answer such questions in different ways. Repeatedly our sources speak of diverging opinions amongst the Mazdaists. The theory making Zrvan- himself proceed from light has

[1] Hübschmann, *Armen. Gramm.*, i, 94; 42; 506. Gelzer, *Z. arm. Götterlehre*, *Sächs. Akad.*, 1895.

[2] 112, 131 f.

been mentioned above. According to the 'Ulemā i Islām time alone being non-created was the first principle and it made fire and water and their union again produced Ōhrmazd. How Ahriman came into existence remains uncertain. In the Iranian sources he is suddenly there.

The Armenian and Syrian authors as well as Šahrastānī all give a mythological explanation for the creation of evil. Whether all these reports come from one and the same source or not can be left an open question, because an original description of Zervanism by Theodoros of Mopsuhestia, Diodoros of Tarsos or some other author would lead ultimately to the Zervanite belief such as it got known to the non-Mazdaist circles. The acts of the Christian martyrs can in any case be considered as comparatively independent testimonies.[1]

Now Theodoros of Mopsuhestia [2], Eznik,[3] Elišē,[4] Theodor bar Kōnai [5] and the acts of Ādhurhormizd [6] all pretend that Zrvan- offered up a sacrifice for a more or less long period. The critics of Zervanism immediately put the question, to whom Zrvan- sacrificed, because he must have recognized a higher deity. This is not necessary, although Šarahstānī mentions light as the highest principle from which Zrvan- was evolved. Eznik again calls Zrvan- synonymous with P'ark', the *χ'arənah-*. He says later on that as "they", i.e. the Mazdaists, pretend Zrvan- sacrificed to P'ark'.[7]

The *χ'arənah-*, the mystical heavenly glory, a form of light, was therefore the object of Zrvan-'s adoration. This *χ'arənah-* was the symbol of kingdom and we have seen Zrvan- treated as sovereign [8] and Pādišāh. Sacrifices to the *χ'arənah-*

[1] Cf., however, above H. H. Schaeder's opinion about the acts of Ādhurhormizd depending on Theodoros of Mopsuhestia.

[2] Loc. cit.

[3] 113, 118 f.

[4] 378a.

[5] Pognon, loc. cit., 111.

[6] Nöldeke, *Festgr. an Roth*, 36; ed. Bedjan, 577.

[7] 118.

[8] The possible double sense of "ruler" and "self-created" attached to the term *χ'adhāta-* could refer to the heavenly sovereign as well as to the king on earth, meaning that he draws his power not from a human source.

are not mentioned in the Avesta, but in Yt 19, 46 ff. we find Spenta- Manyu- and Anra- Manyu both trying to obtain it. The comparison of the heavenly hierarchy with a monarch and his court on earth is a notion common to the East. It goes back to the idea that the material world is but an image of the sky, and this conception again is the base of all astrology. The movement and position of every constellation in heaven corresponds to events in the sublunar sphere.

According to the Mazdaist theology Zrvan- apparently was figured as sacrificing to the *χ ͤarənah-*, which is a characteristic of the gods and of Ahuric institutions in general. If the description given by Theodoros of Mopsuhestia is correct, that Zrvan- begat Ōhrmazd and Ahriman, σπένδων, it was a Zaothra- ceremony which was meant. Sacrifice in itself is believed to possess magic power. This opinion underlies the Vedic ritual, and it is noteworthy that in Iran such ancient Aryan superstitions may have again been introduced by the clergy. Šahrastānī does not mention a sacrifice, he speaks of Zrvan- "murmuring",[1] meaning evidently prayers, a proceeding which is typical for the Mazdaist ritual. The Avestic texts praise often enough the force of certain formulas and prayers. That Zrvan- muttered such sacred texts or sacrificed to the *χ ͤarənah-* is not surprising. By doing this Zrvan- consecrated the ritual custom propagated by the clergy. Although it sounds illogical that the supreme essence addresses prayers and sacrifices to something, it is comprehensible that the Mōbēdhs wanted to have the miraculous power of both to have been consecrated by the highest god himself. In the Avestic texts Ahura- Mazda- appears occasionally as sacrificing to some Yazata-[2] and the prayer Ahuna- varya- is considered to exist before the creation of the world[3] and to be the sacred weapon of Ahura- Mazda-.

The result of the sacrifice or prayer of Zrvan- is the birth of

[1] 183 ed. Cureton.
[2] *Yašt*, v, 17 ff.; viii, 25 ff.; xv, 2 ff.
[3] *Yasna*, xix, 1 ff.

Ahura- Mazda-, but doubts as to the effect of his action passed the mind of Zrvan- and this sufficed to call into being Anra-manyu-. This explanation of the origin of evil, which the Armenian and Syrian sources present, is interesting, because it certainly comes from Iranian priestly circles. Every doubt and unbelief was considered as dangerous; even the highest deity was subjected to the force of the ritual. Such evil consequences of doubt prove the importance and the necessity of a clergy versed in the holy tradition and Zrvan- appears as the first priest endowed with the sacred knowledge. Šarahstānī gives a more philosophical motive. According to some of his authorities, Zrvan- thought while murmuring his formulas for 9,999 years, that the world was perhaps nothing, and this nihilistic idea created Ahriman, Ōhrmazd being the offspring of Zrvan-'s knowledge of things.

On the whole the Zervanite theology, though possessing as starting point the philosophical conception of absolute time, is imbued with mythology. Zrvan- was apparently considered as bisexual, a notion which is found in many Eastern countries and is in no way special to Iran.[1] The Iranian deities have on the contrary no such character. But the cosmogonies of different nations, with whom the Magians were in contact, knew of such figures, e.g. the Egyptian doctrine of On lets Rē· create the world out of himself.

Sometimes the texts like Eznik,[2] the acts of Ādhurhormizd and Šahrastānī speak of a "mother", but who this figure is, is not clear.[3] There may be some reminiscence of the great mother-goddess, such as we find with Kronos Rhea. The Mesopotamian and Semite systems all know pairs of gods, *syzygies*, like they are mentioned in the Gnostic doctrines. To the tradition giving Zrvan- a female counterpart can be

[1] Cf. Waites, *American Journal of Archaeology*, 27, 1923, 26 ff.

[2] 113 ff., 122 ff.

[3] R. Reitzenstein, *Die Göttin Psyche*, 78; *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium*, 156, 178; Christensen, *Etudes*, 52,,.

approached the passage of Hippolytos[1] calling the two αἰτία of "Zaratas" light and darkness, father and mother.[2] We may further mention the expression "father" used instead of Zurvōn in the Arsakide fragments of Manichæan texts from Tufān. The Mazdaist conception of the two spirits as twins, already exposed in the Gāthā, leads again to the idea of parents of such a pair.[3] The Dēnkart says that Ōhrmazd and Ahriman were two brothers in one womb[4] and the Manichæans polemize against this notion.[5]

Zrvan- is not himself the creator. He invests his son Ōhrmazd with the quality of the *demiurgos*, giving him the *Barəsman-* and thus transmitting to him at the same time the obligation of fulfilling the ritual as the prototype of the Mōbēdh. This act has been cleverly compared to the description of scenes depicting the installation of the Sāsānian rulers by Ōhrmazd who presents the earthly king with the ring of sovereignty.[6] *Xšathra-*, the government, and the priesthood are of divine origin and certainly in the Sāsānian epoch united in the hands of the ruler, who is endowed with the *χᵛarənah-*, the heavenly glory.[7]

VII

Iranian Contact with India

It has been possible to state that the conception of Zrvan- as primal and original deity developed in Iran under Greek

[1] *Refut.*, i, 2, 12, ed. Wendland.

[2] Whether this statement can be ascribed to Diodoros of Eretria and to the pupil of Aristoteles, Aristoxenos, as Hippolytōs says, can be left out of the discussion.

[3] *Yasna*, xxx, 3. Zarathuštra speaks of a vision showing him in a dream good and evil in human thoughts, speech and acts in the symbolical shape of a pair of twins. This metaphorical notion was taken later in a literal sense.

[4] Dēnkart, 829, West, *SBE.*, xxxvii, 241 f.

[5] F. W. K. Müller, *Handschriftenreste*, ii, 95.

[6] H. Junker, *Warburg-Vortr.*, i, 1921–22, 171 f.,₈₂.

[7] Like the Frataraks (Governors) of Pārs and the Sāsānian Šāhānšāhs the Armenian kings are considered as being of heavenly descent and they rest in the fortified temple of Aramazd; Gelzer, *Zur armenischen Götterlehre*, 108, quoting Agathangelos.

and Chaldæan influences. The Greek elements may have come to the Persian Mages indirectly through the intercourse with the Chaldæan priests. Against the doctrine of Zervanism accepted for a certain period by the Sāsānian court a reaction rose up and this movement succeeded in its efforts to suppress the Zervanite theology. The remains of the religious literature of the Mazdaists show therefore no more or rather scarcely any signs of the Zervanite doctrine. The Avesta apparently never contained suggestions on time as the highest principle, this new teaching having been formed at a period when the corpus of the Avesta was more or less completed.

If the question appears comparatively clear as far as Iran is concerned, it becomes more complicated when we turn to India. The discoveries in north-western India show early connections with the countries on the coasts of the Persian Gulf.[1] Certain modern theories believe that the Ṛgveda came to exist in the regions of eastern Iran bordering on India, not in India proper. At the time when Buddha and Mahāvīra lived, north-western India was in the hands of the Achaemenids. Relations between India and the Western world have never been interrupted since.[2] The problem of foreign influences on India is far from being cleared up,

[1] Cf. the survey offered by W. Wüst, *ZDMG.*, N.F. 6, 259 ff.

[2] Besides the routes leading overland to India which gave Sinope on the Black Sea great importance, there were close connections with southern Arabia, the Red Sea, and Egypt. Alexandria became a centre of the trade with India. On the other hand, the Jātakas speak of trade with Babylon, Bāveru, *Bāveru Jātaka*, no. 339 of the coll. of Jātakas. S. Lévy, *Annuaire de l'Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes*, 1913–14. For the beginning of the first century A.D. the *Milindapañha*, 359, gives the chief places, in which the Indian sea-faring trade was concerned. Apologos at the mouth of the Tigris was since the first century A.D. the starting point of merchants bound for India (*Periplus maris Erythr.*, 435). At this place, later on called al Ubalis, a temple of a probably Indian deity Zūn is mentioned, cf. J. Marquart and J. J. M. de Groot, *Festschrift f. Ed. Sachau*, 1915, 284 ff. Another temple of this god stood in Zāvulistān and there his symbol was a fish, the crown of the Zūnbil, the king of Zāvulistān, being ornamented with the head of a fish. This resembles more some reminiscence of Ea than Āditya, the sun-god of Mūltān, whom the Hūṇa considered as Mihr, sanskr. Mihira (J. Marquart and J. J. M. de Groot, loc. cit., 288, $_{2}$.).

but in the domains of art and science Greece has certainly left certain impressions on the Indian development. It would therefore not be impossible to connect the Kālavāda too with Western ideas, especially as we find it linked up with astrology. This science has been influenced in certain aspects by the Hellenistic world.

On the other hand the Atharvaveda and the mentions in the Upaniṣads are older than the period of Hellenistic syncretism. Altogether Indian thought develops on its own lines. But it must not be forgotten that Iranian or Iranized nations were in permanent touch with India. Without entering into views like such entertained by D. B. Spooner on a "Zoroastrian period of Indian history"[1] there are enough signs of the contact between Iranians and Indians.

Leaving apart all similarities between Iranians and Indians going back to the Aryan period, there are a number of religious contaminations arising from the fact that Persians, Sakas, Parthians and Chionites held Indian territory. There are interesting particulars to note from eastern Turkestan, where a Sakian version of the Maitreya- samiti was discovered identifying Maitreya and Ōhrmazd, considered as the sun.[2] The language of this translation has been recognized as being identical with that used on the Kṣatrapa- coins.[3]

In north-western India Iranian Mages have become mixed up with the Brāhmaṇa caste and down to the time of Varāhamihira[4] it was necessary to have certain temples of the sun consecrated by "Magas". These Mages had to be fetched

[1] *JRAS*, 1915, 63 ff.; 405 ff., cf. V. A. Smith, *JRAS*., 1915, 800 ff.; Keith, ibid., 1916, 138 ff.; Thomas, ibid., 362 ff.; s. Coomaraswamy, *Gesch. der indischen u. indones. Kunst*, transl. by H. Goetz, 15; 23 ff.

[2] v. 166, Leumann, *Maitreyà-samiti*, Strassburg, 1919, i, 91.

[3] Lüders, *Berl. Sitzungsber.*, 1913, 405 f.; 1919, 734 ff.; cf. Reichelt, *Indogerm. Jahrb.*, i, 1913, 20 f.; Sir Aurel Stein, *Serindia*, iii, 1443 ff. Reichelt, *Stand u. Aufg. der Sprachwiss.*, 286; *Grdr. d. indog. Sprach-Altertumskunde*, ii, 4, 2, 28 f.; E. Abegg, *Der Messiasglaube*, 193.

[4] *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, lx, 19.

from Śākadvīpa. The Mages were known as the Śākadvīpīya-Brāhmaṇas.[1]

The contact between Iranians and Buddhists in north-western India seems to have been important for the development of the figure of Maitreya in the Mahāyāna, the conception of Maitreya being probably influenced by that of the Saošyant-.[2] It is a notable fact that the Hindoos seem to have been less in touch with Iranian elements than the Buddhists. The Jainas again were on good terms with the Sakas, while the Hephtalite Hūṇa was considered as an opponent of their teachings.[3]

VIII

Conclusions

The Zervanite theology of Iran, once the official system of the Persian empire, and the Indian Kālavāda have in common the acceptation of time as the supreme principle and the connection of this notion with the idea of fate. This leads to astrological considerations, some of which are in contrast with the Indian conception of Karman, as they

[1] Bhandarkar, *Vaisnavism*, 153 ff.; Grierson, *The Languages of India*, 45, Wilson, *Vishnu Purāṇa*, I, lxiii; v, 381 ff.; Winternitz, *Gesch. d. ind. Lit.* I, 474; III, 362; Abegg, *Messiasglaube*, 243.

[2] Grünwedel, *Buddhist. Kunst*, 2nd ed., 143; Garbe, *Indien u. das Christentum*, 174 f.; Krause, *Ju-Tao-Fo*, 409 f.; Waldschmidt, *Gandhāra*, 12 f.; Abegg, *Messiasglaube*, 243 f.

[3] v. Glasenapp, *Der Jainismus*, 43 f.; J. Charpentier, *The Cambridge History of India*, I, 167 f. It is necessary to distinguish between the Kūšān, the Chionites or White Huns and the Hephtalites. The Kūšān formed a confederation extending to Bactria, Xotān and north-western India and led by Iranian Sakas. During the Sāsānian period, Kūšānšāh was merely the title of the Persian Governor-General of Ḫorāsān. The Chionites, the Ḫyaona- of the Avesta, were a Hun tribe. Under pressure from the Hephtalites whose sedentary life in a fertile country with a large capital is described by Prokopius, *de bello Pers.*, i, 3, some Chionites moved to India, where they established the Hūṇa kingdom or kingdoms. In the sixth century the Hephtalites were crushed by Xosrau I of Persia co-operating with the Xāqān of the Turks.

subject the human destiny to a necessity lying outside the sphere of man's action and mind.

The similarities of Zervanism and Kālavāda end here. The Indian system seems to have been a well-founded philosophical doctrine, which proceeded with arguments and a scientific method, just like other schools of philosophy. It is only outside of this philosophical doctrine in the field of religion that we meet elements of mythology.

On the other hand Zervanism operates with a philosophical conception, but the whole teaching is purely religious in character. Legends, myths, and symbols are used to explain the unsolved mysteries of existence and of its origins. The teachings of the Zervanite divines are closely allied to those in use in hither Asia, in Babylonia, Mesopotamia and Anatolia as well as in Iran proper. The idea of absolute time is combined with astrological considerations.

There seems to exist no contact between the Iranian Zervanites and the Kālavāda. The Indian development can be fully understood from Indian premises alone.

One point remains however dubious. Did India discover by herself the notion of absolute time or did it come to her perhaps through Iran from Greece? The question cannot be separated from that of the origin of Indian astrology. For Iran it seems clear that Zervanism was a result of the Hellenistic current, forming a new world out of Eastern and Greek elements, a movement which need not be limited to the period of Alexander, but which goes back to the days when the Achæmenian empire came into touch with the Western world.

New Fragments of the Commentaries on the Ritual of the Death and Resurrection of Bel

By S. LANGDON

THE texts which narrated the episodes of the death, burial in a tomb, the sojourn in Hades, and the resurrection of Marduk, have not been recovered. The contents of this remarkable myth, which transferred the Tammuz legends to Bel-Marduk, must be reconstructed from the rituals and commentaries. On it the Babylonians based a ritual or mystery play in which the entire myth was represented. The rubrics which contained full directions of the details of this play also remain unknown. If they are ever recovered they will correspond to the directions for the *zagmuk* or New Year's festival at Babylon and Erech.[1] The only sources for reconstructing this mystery play are the commentaries of the scribes on the mythical meaning of each act in this play, corresponding to one fragment of a commentary on the ritual of the *zagmuk* at Babylon.[2] Two large fragments of the commentary on the Death and Resurrection of Bêl as celebrated at Assur, are published by E. Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur Religiösen Inhalts*, Nos. 143 and duplicate, No. 219, both of which were used for an edition by Professor Zimmern.[3] The writer gave an edition in his *Babylonian Epic of Creation*, pp. 34–49, together with two fragments from the library of Asurbanipal, Rm. 275 and K. 9138. Soon after the appearance of my book, Mr. C. J. Gadd found two more fragments of the same collection in the British Museum, K. 6330, which joins K. 9138, and K. 6359. Both fragments are published here, by permission of the Trustees of the Museum. As with the previously published

[1] Similar to those edited by Zimmern and Thureau-Dangin. See the latter's *Rituels Accadiens*, pp. 86–154.

[2] K. 3476 in *CT*. 15, 43–4, edited by Professor Zimmern, *Neu-Jahrsfest*[1], pp. 127–36, and analyzed in the writer's *The Babylonian Epic of Creation*, pp. 29–31.

[3] *Neu Jahrsfest*[2], 2–21.

fragments no connected text can be extracted from them. In my notes to the transcription, the passages in the large Assur texts which seem to be parallels have been noted; any new information on this remarkable myth and ceremony which can be gleaned from them has been indicated in the notes. At Assur the national of god Assyria replaced Bêl-Marduk in the ceremony, but the texts of the commentaries were undoubtedly copied from the original tablets at Babylon. The contents leave no doubt at all but that the mystery play refers to Bêl-Marduk.

The tablet, KAR. 307, is published under the title "Description of the Ceremonies for the New Year's Festival", by Professor Ebeling. It is clearly allied to K. 3476, especially on the reverse. Note Rev. 2, *iḫ-pi-ši-ma kima nûnê maš-di-e a-na šina-šu*, and compare *Creation*, p. 146, 137. A description of how Marduk humiliated Tiamat is given in lines 13–15. Lines 17–19 certainly describe a ritual with an ox and sheep; they mean Kingu "lord of the seven sons". Lines 20–5 describe how, in this ceremony, the king brought a golden crown on his head from within *é-kur*, and sat on his throne; he takes it away and goes to the palace. The passage is clearly connected with the ritual in which the king gives up his royal insignia to the high priest, and has them restored to him in Esagila.[1] This means the god Ninurta, who avenged his father[2]; the gods his fathers within Ekur, *mitḫariš* (?) *ḫatta kussa pali iddinu-šu* "gave him sceptre, throne, and hatchet by mutual agreement". They adorned him with the splendour of kingship.

That is only another example of the persistence of the older Ninurta legend. See *Epic of Creation*, pp. 17–20. The use of Ekur, temple of Enlil at Nippur, for Esagila in the late Babylonian ceremony, reveals an older Sumerian myth similar to the one concerning Marduk in the sixth book of the Epic of Creation. There the gods built Babylon and Esagila to

[1] See Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels*, 144, 515–52.
[2] *gimilli abi-šu utirru*. See *JRAS*. 1925, 493, l. 14.

Marduk, and there they granted him universal power. The older Sumerian mythology surely contained a similar legend concerning Ekur and Ninurta.

The obverse of KAR. 307 seems to be a commentary on the mystery play representing the *Epic of Creation*, but most of the lines appear to be mere interpretations of the relations between plants, metals, various objects, and parts of the human body, as, for example, the text in my *PBS*. x, p. 341. With l. 3, *iṣ-tittu kisalla-šu*, compare *PBS*. x, 341, 4. With l. 18, *iṣu-karanu kakkul-ti ênê-šu* "The vine is the apple of his eyes", compare *PBS*. x, 341, 1. But line 19 refers to *Tiamat ši-i mušênikti ša d.En-[me-šár-ra* ?]. Lines 24–9 contain a ceremony with a chariot and *pagri ša d.Enmešarra ina libbi naši(ši), sic!* "The corpse of Enmesharra is bourne therein". The horses yoked to the chariot represent the . . . of Zû. Lines 30–8 describe the upper, middle, and lowest heavens, and upper, middle, and lowest parts of the earth. The contents of this text have no logical sequence of ideas or ritualistic acts. It is defined at the end as a *pirišti* (*AD-HAL*) of the gods, to be read and learned by the initiated only.

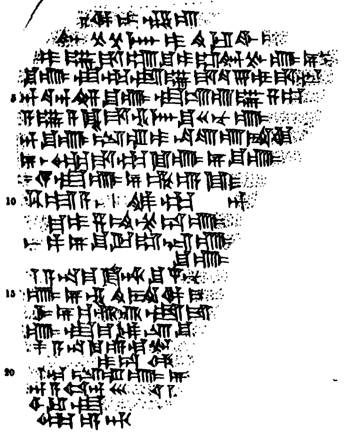
K. 6330 + 9138

1. . . . . *ki* (?)-*i* *d.En-lil* . . . .
2. . . . . . . *matāti i-ḫi-ip-pi-i* . . . .
3. . . . . . -*i amēlu ša tuppa-šu i-ra-'a-bu-ú-ni* . . . .
4. . . . . *šu-ú-tu ka-li amēlu ša ûm 7-kam*[1] *šá arah[Nisan-ni* . . . .]
5. . . [*d.A-num* *d.Sin*] *d.Šamaš šu-u-tu ištu bît amelṣa-ab-[ti* . . . .][2]
6. . . . A (?) *amelmar-šipri ša bêlê-šu man-nu ú* . . . .
7. . . . . *ilu šu-ú il-lak i-na libbi bit á-ki-[ti* . . . .][3]
8. . . . . *ni ina eli ša ka-lu-ú-ni šu-ú* . . . .
9. . . . . *ú* (?)-*pat-tu-ú-ni karpatkal-lu* . . . .
10. . . . . *ṣi-a* . . . . *HAR-ka ilu* (?) . . . .
11. . . . . *ma i-ṣa-am-mu-du-ú-[ni* . . . .

[1] Cf. *Creat*. 42, 44. [2] Cf. *Creat*. 42, 39. [3] Cf. *Creat*. 42, 40.

12\. . . . . . *ina pa-ni-šu ur-ra-zu* [1] *ú* . . . .
13\. . . . . *šu-ú* . . . .
14\. . . . . *a-na ma-ki-ti-šu* [2] *šá* . . . .

K. 6330 + 9138



Remainder in *Epic of Creation*, p. 213.

[1] For *urrad-šu* ?

[2] For *makītu* ?, Thureau-Dangin, *Sargon*, 398, derived from *nakû*. Cf. Pl. *makkâtu*, *RA*. 17. 94. 28; *makkîtu*, Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels*, 100, 16; cf. *ana mullê multani ma-ak-ki-ti*, Ebeling, *KAR*. 362, 11. In all these passages the word clearly means "libation", except in *Rituels*, 100, 16, where *ina makkîtum ša namuriu šarri* (also ll. 6 and 24) probably has the same sense.

15\. . . . . *im-mar]-ú-ni bêl ḫi-iṭ-ṭi ša itti* ^{ilu}*Bêl šu-tu-ni* . . . .][1]

16\. . . . . *ú-ni GIŠ-RI tal-li-da-* . . . . . .

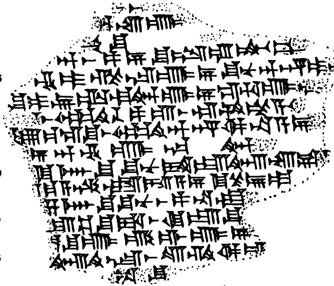
17\. . . . *ša is-si-šu la il-lak-ú-ni mar* $^{d.}$*Aš-šur šu-]ú-tu ma-ṣu-ru šu-[ú ina muḫ-ḫi-šu pa-ḳid* . . . . . .][2]

18\. . . . . *a-na-ku kal-la muš* ? . . . . . .

19\. . . . *ina su-ka-ḳa-a-te i-du-lu-[ú-ni* $^{d.}$*Bêl u-ba-'u-ma aṣ-ka ṣa-bit]*[3]

20\. *[šu-ú ša is-si-]šu la il-lak-ú-ni*[4] . . . . .

K. 6359



21\. . . . . . . $^{d.}$*A-num* $^{d.}$*Sin* [$^{d.}$*Šamaš* $^{d.}$*Ramman* . . . . .]

22\. . . . . *ši-ip-tu* . . . . . .

Remainder in *Epic of Creation*, p. 52.

K. 6359

2\. . . . . . *ru-ú* . . . .

3\. . . . . . *aḫu* (?)-*šu* . . . .

4\. . . . . *ilu ina pa-ni-šu il-lak šêru* . . . .

[1] Cf. *Creat.* 38, 25.
[2] Cf. *Creat.* 38, 19.
[3] Cf. *Creat.* 34, 9.
[4] Cf. *Creat.* 38, 19.

5\. . . . . [d.]]*Bêl i-zi-zu-ú-ni šu-nu* [d.]*Aš-šur i-* . . . .

6\. . . . . *šu i-sa-al-la-'-ú-ni si-ḫu šu-ú-tu* . . . .

7\. . . . . *ina muḫ-ḫi-šu pa-ḳid*[1] *ina* [âlu]*Gú-dŭ-a-(ki)* [*ina mu-ḫ-ḫi-šu i-na-aṣ-ṣar*]

8\. . . . . *is-si-šu ina muḫ-ḫi* [d.]*Aš-šur di-na-a-ni* (*ip-ti-ú di-na-a-ni i-di-nu*][2]

9\. . . . . *ú*-]*ni* [d.]*Bêl u-ba-'u* . . . .

10\. . . . . *ṣubatê-šu šu-nu it-ta-aḫ-ru-uš*[3] . . .

11\. . . . . *ana* [d.]*Sin* [d.]*Šamaš u-ṣal-la*] *ma-a búl-li-da-a-ni*[4] [ṣubat]*še-ir-i-at!* . . . .[5]

12\. . . . . *nišê-šu šu-nu ina pa-na-tu-*[*šu ú-na-bu-ú*][6]

13\. . . . . *šu-da ina šapli-šu* . . . .

14\. . . . . *šu ú-ga-mar-ú-ni* . . . .

15\. . . . . *iḫ-ḫi-su ina libbi gi-di* . . . .

[1] Cf. *Creat.* 36, 12. A watchman is appointed over Bel's tomb and in Cutha watches over him. The parallel passage, *Creat.* 38, 19, has *âlu bir-tu* "prison-city"; here Cutha for Arallu, under-world.

[2] Cf. *Creat.* 38, 18. For *ip-ti-ú*, perhaps read *ib-ti-ú*; see Johns, *Assyrian Deeds*, vol. iii, 301, *dinu dababu ubtaunu*: the passage seems to imply that "they sought a case against Ashur (Marduk-Bêl) and declared judgment (against him).

[3] Cf. *Creat.* 78, 86?; 40, 30? read there *it-ta-*[*aḫ-ru-uš*]?

[4] Cf. *Creat.* 40, 37; Rm. 275 obv. 6.

[5] Cf. *Creat.* 40, 32; 44, 53. The text has *še-ir-i-at*, clearly.

[6] Cf. *Creat.* 38, 27.

The Mahmal of the Moslem Pilgrimage

By ARTHUR E. ROBINSON

IT is very improbable that the Mahmal, which formed such a prominent object in the procession of the "Kiswat en Nebi" at Cairo and the pilgrim caravans from Egypt and Syria, will be seen in the Hejaz again.[1]

There are very strong political and religious reasons against its introduction into the ceremonies at Mecca. As the practice of sending a Mahmal to Mecca was adopted by an Indian Prince and the late Sultan of Darfur, it might be of use to trace the origin and purport of this very curious custom in Islam.

The Mahmal possesses no sanctity, and whatever its origin may have been, it became during the fifteenth century an emblem of the official character of the pilgrim caravan which accompanied it. It was repugnant to the Arabs, who regarded it as an assumption by its owners of territorial rights over the "Ḥaramayn". The rulers of Egypt and Turkey regarded it as a symbol of their protective rights over the Ka'ba and tomb of Muhammad. During the present century the senders of the Darfur Mahmal, the Hyderabad Mahmal, the Ibn Sa'ud Mahmal, and the Ibn Rashid Mahmal appear to have regarded themselves as co-defenders of Islam with the Sultan (and Caliph) of Turkey.

The Mahmal is heretical to Islam and the Wahhabis or Moslem Rechabites have declined to admit the Mahmal into the Hejaz. They repudiated it in 1798–1814 and again in 1924, and their previous action in sending one was purely political. Many of the pilgrim caravans from the tenth to the fifteenth centuries were military expeditions. The dual

[1] The Hejaz is now in the possession of Ibn Sa'ud, a descendant of the great Wahhabist of the 1798–1814 campaigns. The Damascus Mahmal is similar to the one from Egypt but smaller. No Kiswa is sent from Damascus, but a pall or rich carpet for the tomb of Muhammad at Medina used to be sent by the Sultan of Turkey annually.

caliphate (969–1200), the restored caliphate (1260–1538), and its subsequent assumption by the Sultan of Turkey have been very potent factors in the history of Islam and civilization. Both the Mahmal and the Kiswa became *causae bellorum*, and in the faction fights at Mecca, etc., the Mahmal was used as a standard [1] or rallying place for the pilgrims who had accompanied it or belonged to the place from whence it had come.

The Mahmal has been alluded to or described by various writers during a period of nearly six hundred years and there has been a tendency lately upon the part of non-Moslem writers to invest it with morphological properties and endeavour to trace its origin to the Ark or some ancient Semitic custom. Mrs. Seligman [2] has dealt with the Mahmal from this point of view; but the present writer regards the Ka'ba and the Pyx as the present-day morphological survivors of the Israelitish Ark, as it must not be overlooked that the "Ark culture" was confined for some time to those tribes which had been captive in Egypt, and not to the whole Israelitish nation.

The word "Mahmal" is a derivative of Ḥaml (حمل) meaning "to bear". Gaudefroy-Demombynes (op. cit.,

[1] The Sultan Selim I took the "Sanjak es Sherif" and the Caliph Mutawakkil with him to Constantinople (see also *Travels of Ali Bey*, London, 1816, vol. ii, p. 362). He permitted the continuation of the Cairo and Damascus Mahmal processions, but added an extra Mahmal of his own (Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le Pèlerinage à la Mekke*, Paris, 1923, p. 159).

[2] "Sacred Litters among the Semites, with reference to the utfas of the Kababish": *Sudan Notes and Records*, Khartoum, 1918.

Those who desire to study this point of view are recommended to consult: Breasted, *A History of Egypt*, p. 61, etc.; Gore, *A New Commentary of Holy Scripture*, London, 1928, pp. 38, 148, 177, 190–2, 217–57, 660, etc.; *Encyclopædia Biblica*; *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. i, p. 746, and the writers cited by Gaudefroy-Demombynes (op. cit.) such as Muhammad Labab Balanouni and other non-Christian writers. Burckhardt cannot be cited as an authority as he did not enter the Ka'ba. Ali Bey did not visit Medina, and most of the subsequent writers can only deal with impressions formed after the re-occupation of the Hejaz by Muhammad Aly Pasha and the temporary suppression of Wahhabism.

p. 158) states that it is an ancient word which means "the bands which maintain in place the panniers" of the kind supporting a camel howdah or palanquin.[1] The use of the word by Moslem writers in mediaeval descriptions of the pilgrim processions is contemporary with that of Kiswa.[2]

It is only used to denote the closed rectangular pyramidal canopy which so resembled a catafalque that it is not improbable that this was its original purpose. In fact there is a very circumstantial account of a Mahmal from Cairo which was sent during the reign of Murad III (1574–95) having been placed upon the tomb of Muhammad at Medina, in Hakluyt's *Voyages* (Dent's edn., vol. iii, p. 197).

There has been little variation in the construction of the Mahmal with the exception of the addition of crescents or stars and crescents on the ornaments. It consisted of a light cage or frame of wood which was covered by a brocaded silk or other textile material. The most prominent colours appear to have been at various periods yellow, black, green or red. In later years the cipher of the reigning Sultan of Turkey and a plan of the Ka'ba were conspicuous in the brocaded design on the front.[3]

The Kiswa (en Nebi) is the outer covering of the Ka'ba at Mecca and has no connection whatever with the Mahmal. Whether the first Mahmal was a catafalque for the tomb of

[1] The writer is inclined to think that the Mahmal and the use of the "utfa" in war are both survivals of the precedent set by Ayesha at the battle of Basra (the day of the Camel, in 656).

[2] See note by Quatremère, *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouk (Makrizi)*, Paris, 1837, p. 223, and "Le Kiswa de la Kaaba" by Gaudefroy-Demombynes in *Revue Hist. Religion*, 1918.

[3] Qalqashandi (Gaudefroy-Demombynes, quoting) describes the Mahmal as covered with yellow satin and surmounted by a dome (*qubba*) of silver gilt. Yellow was the royal colour of Sultan Beybars (1260–77), who restored the Caliphate and occupied the Hejaz in the name of his nominee the Caliph El Ḥākim (1262–1303). Mustanṣir, the first restored Caliph, was killed by the Mongols after he had enthroned Beybars (1260), who sent envoys to the Sherif of Mecca but was obliged to occupy Suakim and the Hejaz so as to collect the *zekât*, *'ushûr*, and *'adad* for the Caliph (see also Makrizi, op. cit., etc.).

Muhammad or the tomb of Fāṭima (both of which were in the reconstructed mosque at Medina in A.D. 711) is a very open question. After the occupation of Egypt in 1517 the Sultan assumed certain prerogatives which had hitherto been personal to the Caliphs. The inner curtains for the Ka'ba, the curtains screening the tomb at Medina and the carpet or pall for the tomb appear to have been presented by the "de facto" Caliph for many centuries, and until recently by the Sultans of Turkey.[1]

Tradition assigns the origin of the Mahmal to the ill-fated Queen Shajar ad-Durr[2] of Egypt, who was murdered in 1257. She was a Circassian slave of the last Bagdad Caliph (Musta'ṣin, 1242–58), and was sent by him (*circ.* 1247) as a present to the Sultan As Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb of Egypt (1240–9). She is notable as the only female ruler of Egypt since Cleopatra, as she issued coins and reigned for six months in 1250, after the death of her infant son and the murder of Turanshah ibn Ayyūb. The Caliph refused to recognize a female ruler as his nominal fiefee in Egypt and she married one of her own mamelukes, the Emir Aybek. She remained childless, and after forcing him to divorce his wife, had him assassinated. The female slaves of the divorced wife murdered Shajar ad-Durr in revenge by throwing their wooden clogs at her. Her body was thrown to the dogs, but subsequently entombed at Cairo.[3] It is most

[1] See *Travels of Ali Bey*, London, 1816, vol. xi, pp. 66, etc.

It is extremely probable that until 1517 all the votive offerings were sent from Egypt whenever the Hejaz was in the territorial possession of the mameluke Sultans.

[2] E. W. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, Dent's ed., p. 444. No authority is given by Lane, but I have traced in Makrizi (op. cit., p. 23) that "*Le Mahmal*, le voile destine pour la Kaabah" left Cairo A.H. 664 (or A.D. 1264–5), which is some time previous to the date given by Lane. See also Berchem, *Corpus Caire*, pp. 414–15, cited by Gaudefroy-Demombynes.

[3] S. Lane Poole, *A History of Egypt under the Saracens*, London, 1901, and records in the Khedivial Library, Cairo.

Her tomb in Cairo is much frequented by poor and ignorant women who pray there. The Eunuch Emir Jamāl ad-Din as Ṣāliḥi Ayyubi took

improbable that the memory of Shajar ad-Durr should have been perpetuated by Sultan Beybars by a fanciful representation of the camel litter in which she travelled from Irak (possibly via Mecca) or used in her successful campaign against Louis IX of France.[1] Tradition says that she saved the French king's life as the result of a personal appeal to her by the Queen of France, as the mamelukes had decided to decapitate him.

Queen Shajar ad-Durr is, however, very clearly identified in some way with the Mahmal. Tradition states that she was the first Egyptian ruler who sent a veil or gold brocaded portière for the Ka'ba,[2] which was probably similar to that described by Ibn Jubair in 1182–3.[3]

In 1380 a Mahmal from the Yemen apparently usurped the place of the Egyptian one and there are frequent references to faction fights over priority of position at 'Arafat, etc. Eldon Rutter, one of the best informed travellers to Mecca and Medina, describes the Mahmals as receptacles for hand-

the votive offerings sent from Egypt to Mecca and Medina for many years. He was one of the eunuchs attached to the harem of Sultan Aṣ-Ṣâliḥ Ayyûb. I cannot trace any evidence of the reputed pilgrimage of Shajar ad-Durr in 1247, but Makrizi mentions the Hajj of A.H. 647 from Cairo and that of 648 from Irak (op. cit., vol. i, pp. 33–8). She had lost her son prior to the death of Sultan Ayyûb on 21st November, 1249.

[1] Shajar ad-Durr concealed the death of Ayyûb from the troops and the litter in which he had travelled (as an invalid) from Cairo was used by her. She was instrumental in the defeat of the French at Mansura on 9th February, 1250, and Turanshah (27th February–2nd May, 1250) was murdered by the mamelukes for accepting a ransom; but the Emirs elected Shajar ad-Durr as the Queen of Egypt.

[2] E. W. Lane, op. cit., p. 488.

[3] Edition, Rome, 1906, C. Schiaparelli's translation, etc.

In 834 the Caliph Mutassim (833–42) sent a gold brocaded portière from Irak to celebrate his accession to the Caliphate, but it was repudiated by the Sherif of Mecca. It is this curtain or portière which is described as a door in Hakluyt and other contemporary writers. There was a wooden door for which the Caliph provided the key and entrusted it to the Sherif of Mecca, who abused the privilege and extorted illegal fees for admission from the pilgrims on many occasions. See Makrizi (op. cit., vol. i, pp. 32–71) re the action of Beybars in this matter.

some presents to the holy places and their guardians, etc., vide *The Holy Cities of Arabia*, London, 1929, p. 178.

As a receptacle the Mahmal was useless unless panniers were placed under it, and this has not been the general practice for many years past. My theory is that the Mahmal was originally a catafalque for the tomb of Fāṭima in the mosque at Medina, which was sent by Queen Shajar ad-Durr about the time that she sent the portière for the Ka'ba. The reasons for this action are very obvious to all students of anthropology and form one of the oldest customs of mankind, which have been common to all creeds, etc., from the remotest ages of antiquity.[1]

The tombs of the female descendants of Muhammad were supposed to possess special sanctity and potency as aids to prayers from women, and any articles placed on these tombs at Cairo, Medina or Kufa were considered to absorb these properties (see Lane, op. cit., pp. 264, 432–7, 473, etc.). The Sudanese women considered the colossal statues in Nubia and Dongola possessed certain potential factors beneficial to maternity.

It is unlikely that the Sultan Beybars should have re-introduced such an obviously female practice as to send votive offerings to the shrines of female saints. If the Mahmal sent by him was not a catafalque for the tomb of Muhammad, it was probably added to complete the list of all the votive offerings sent and previously recorded: as a visible sign to the Islamic world that the Caliph was then in Egypt under the protection of its ruler, the Sultan Beybars. The practice of providing a Kiswa for the Ka'ba at Mecca dates to the pre-Moslem era of heliolatry or idolatry practised by the Meccans. In those days the Ka'ba was covered by Yemenese striped cloth and between the Kiswa and the wall constituted an inviolable sanctuary (see Aṭ Ṭabari, Ya'qubi, Azraqi and

[1] Eldon Rutter (op. cit., vol. ii, p. 199) states that the tomb of Fāṭima can be seen. See Fraser's *Golden Bough* and similar works for further details.

Qutb-ad-Din, etc., quoted by Gaudefroy-Demombynes). It became the special privilege of each successive Caliph to provide a new Kiswa, although the Umayyads were excluded from Mecca for some years and endeavoured to make Jerusalem the place of pilgrimage. The Caliph Al-Mahdi of Bagdad (775–85) who made the pilgrimage in 777 had all the old covers taken off the Ka'ba, and inaugurated the ceremony of hanging a new one each year by the Sherif of Mecca. One of the first actions of the Fāṭimite Caliph Al Mu'izz (953–75), after his arrival in Cairo from Kairouan in 973, and the repulse of the Carmathians, was to send a very large and costly Kiswa to Mecca. He is said to have made the pilgrimage and pronounced the *khuṭba* from a *minbar* or chair of three steps which he took there. He assumed temporal power and his action in hanging his Kiswa on the Ka'ba was clearly a sign to Islam that "he was the man in possession". Since then there have been frequent struggles to hang their Kiswas by rival Caliphs or their protectors.[1]

The ambiguity of Moslem writers has caused a great deal of confusion regarding the Mahmal and the Kiswa. It is very difficult to explain the statement of Makrizi (op. cit., Paris, 1842, p. 57): "le mahmal, qui renfermait le voile

[1] In 1154 Nur ad-Din ibn Zengi of Mosul, a supporter of the Abbasides, occupied Damascus. He extended the walls of the Medina mosque and is believed to have hung his Kiswa on the Ka'ba, as there is an inscription dated A.H. 550 (A.D. 1154) relating to the Caliph Muḳtafi (1136–60) on the door.

In 1262 Melik Muẓaffar Yusuf ibn Omar ibn Rasul made the pilgrimage and hung his Kiswa on the Ka'ba.

In 1282 the Sherif of Mecca renewed the vow that he had made to the Sultan Beybars under which his predecessor had guaranteed that no other Kiswa than that from Egypt should be hung on the Ka'ba (Makrizi, op. cit., pp. 11, 12).

Since the recent Wahhabi occupation of the Hejaz, Ibn Sa'ud has provided a black hair Kiswa (1925) and the Ḥezām has been made in India.

For further information regarding the assumption of temporal power by the Caliphs see Mahmud Zaki, *Le Livre de la Couronne*, Cairo, and Makrizi (op. cit., vol. ii, p. 91), etc.

destiné pour la Kabah," as the Kiswa was much too bulky to be carried in or under the Mahmal, or on one animal. In fact, Makrizi states that the Kiswa was carried in the procession through the streets of Cairo and Fustat on mules in 1263. At that time each of the four sections, excluding the Ḥezām or brocaded gold band, probably measured about 30 feet long and 30 feet deep. There is no cover for the roof of the Ka'ba.[1]

Opinions regarding the contents of the Mahmal vary considerably and it is obvious that views expressed by Christian writers must be accepted with caution, as they could have had no access to the Mahmal, and although disguised as pilgrims their information must of necessity be based on hearsay or since the destruction of the tombs by the Wahhabis during the last century. In late years the Egyptian Mahmal has contained nothing.[2] Burckhardt, who is frequently cited as an authority, stated that the Mahmal contained a book of prayers and some charms. Maundrell, writing in 1697,[3] alludes to the carpet for the tomb at Medina and states that the Mahmal he saw leave Damascus contained a copy of the Quran. The writer in Hakluyt described the Quran as carried from Cairo (and returned there) "in a little chest made of pure legmane wood in likenesse of the ark of the old testament". Lane (op. cit) says that the Mahmal which he saw in Cairo (c. 1834) was empty but that two very small copies

[1] It must not be overlooked that the Moslem canopied tomb is apparently an adaptation of the Byzantine pattern and there are few in Egypt which have been constructed since the Turkish occupation. Graves are indicated by a headstone surmounted by a representation of a turban or tarbush. These graves are frequently in domed buildings (*qubbas*) and sometimes a pall is placed over the grave. The introduction and disuse of the catafalque by the Moslems of Egypt seems to be mediaeval.

[2] Qalqashandi (*vide* Gaudefroy-Demombynes, op. cit., p. 165) states that the Mahmal returned to Cairo in 1419. I am indebted to the Secretary of the Egyptian Legation, London, for information regarding recent practice.

[3] *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem* in 1697, Oxford, 1703, pp. 127, etc.

of the Quran "in scroll and book form" were suspended outside from the apex.[1]

It was the custom for all pilgrim caravans passing through Cairo before 1517 to receive two flags, one from the Sultan of Egypt and the other from the Caliph. After that date the pilgrims joined the Egyptian caravan and marched under the standard of the reigning Sultan of Turkey with the Mahmal. The Arabs had no respect for any of these emblems or standards[2] and the annals of the pilgrimage are a record of pillage of Moslems by Moslems.

It has been the custom for many centuries to display all the votive offerings intended for the Ka'ba and Mosque at Medina in the processions at Cairo and elsewhere in the same manner that wedding gifts are paraded before marriages and the camels are similarly decorated.

During the journey the various articles were packed away in cases, but as a general rule the Mahmal was not dismantled but protected by a travelling case which Muhammad Lubab Balanouni states was the pall from the tomb of Sidi Yunus as Sa'di. Lane's drawing does not show the elaborate camel housings, which almost touch the ground, over which the Mahmal was placed.

That the Mahmal was not Semitic in its origin I am convinced, but students may find in Hakluyt (vol. i, p. 440; vol. ii, p. 127 and p. 319) some curious Asiatic customs and superstitions which are analogous. Further, it was a custom in Cairo for important Emirs to have models of their castles,

[1] Ali Bey (op. cit., p. 222, vol. ii) states that Qurans 4 feet long and 2½ feet wide were at Jerusalem in 1807, and like those at Cairo and Mecca were attributed to the Caliph Omar.

Qurans were also taken as presents to shrines. The Morocco pilgrim caravan of 1305 took a magnificent Quran bound in gold plates and inlaid with precious stones to Mecca for the Ka'ba.

See also *History of the Moorish Empire in Europe*, Phil., U.S.A., 1904.

[2] See also Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, vol. ii, pp. 49–64; Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, vol. i, p. 61 (unabridged ed.); A. von Kremer, *Cult des Or*; El Aghani, Cairo, 1323; E. Mercier, *Hist. de l'Afrique, Sept.*, Paris, 1888; and Hastings (op. cit., vol. x, p. 11) for other views regarding the Mahmal.

made of similar materials to the Mahmal, displayed before the gates of their residences when the Sultan rode through the city on certain occasions. The sugar castles sold at Bairam are believed to be a relic of this custom. It is certain that many customs in Egypt and the Sudan have been introduced into those countries by mamelukes of Asiatic origin.[1]

In addition to the Mahmals from Cairo and Damascus the following gifts were sent :—

Annually from Egypt :

(*a*) A veil for the Door of the Ka'ba.

(*b*) A veil for the Door of Repentance.

(*c*) A bag in which the key of the wooden door of the Ka'ba was kept by the Sherif of Mecca.

(*d*) A pall or canopy for "Maqām Ibrāhīm" at Mecca.

(*e*) A carpet for the pulpit (*minbar*) in the Ka'ba mosque.

(*f*) The Kiswa [2] and Ḥezām for the Ka'ba.

Annually from Damascus :

(*g*) The pall or carpet for the tomb of Muhammad at Medina.

On the accession of each Sultan, with the Damascus Mahmal for that year.

(*h*) The curtains which hung round the interior walls of the Ka'ba.

(*j*) The curtains which screened the tomb of Muhammad at Medina from the public.

[1] The tribal and sedentary Meks of the Sudan adopted the practice of the Emir at-Tablkhanat who used to have their drums beaten at sunset and sunrise outside their residences, permanent or temporary. These drums were of copper and Father Alvarez described the Abyssinian drums as made in Cairo.

See also E. W. Lane (op. cit., pp. 528, etc.) for Turkish influences on Arab customs, architecture, etc.

[2] The word Kiswa is not always applied to the curtain for the Ka'ba; vide letter of 8th April, 1930, from Egyptian Legation. It seems to have been used, similarly to Mahmal, in a collective sense, and it is most probable early Moslem writers used the word Mahmal for the procession and Kiswa for any coverings or palls, etc.

On page 332 of *Around the Coasts of Arabia*, by Ameen Rihani (Constable & Co., London, 1930), will be found a description of a newly instituted local Mahmal:—

"The procession of the Mahmal—the green silk cover for the tomb of the saint, set upon a canopy frame."

This Moslem saint was canonized locally by his admirers, and his nephew walked in the procession of 1922, by consent apparently of the British authorities on the occasion of the fête of Hashim Bahr at Sheikh Othman (near Aden).

As the writer is an American subject, but a Syrian Christian, who has visited Ibn Saud, his comments are of some interest.

Further Arabic Inscriptions on Textiles (IV)

By A. R. Guest

(Plates I and II)

THE preceding article of this series will be found in the *Journal* for 1930, page 761. Mr. Elsberg has kindly supplied photographs and descriptions of the following Abbasid and Fatimid pieces in his collection, and Mr. S. Flury has to be thanked for assistance with the readings of the inscriptions:—

No. 1. Collection No. 1749.

Fragment of a garment of glazed linen, counting about fifty warp threads to the inch. The inscription is embroidered in red silk, in a cross stitch. $14\frac{1}{2} \times 22\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The inscription is $\frac{3}{8}$ inch wide. From the excavations at Fustât.

Inscription.—بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم . اعزاز لله واكرام لله والحمد لله كثيراً وشكر الله دائماً لدوامه و باقيًا لبقائه . احسان من الله ونعماء ويمن وبقاء للخليفة المبارك عبد الله الامام المقتدر بالله امير المؤمنين اعزه الله . سنة ثلثة عشر ثلث مائة . لر السيح

Translation.—In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate. Much glory to God and honour to God and praise to God, enduring as He endures and remaining as He remains. Favour from God and blessing and success and long life be to the blessed Khalif, the servant of God, El Muqtadir billâh, Commander of the Faithful, God make him mighty. Year 313. LR ALSYH.

Date.—A.H. 313 = A.D. 925.

Remark.—Perhaps شكرا should be read, but then one would expect اعزازًا and اكرامًا. These inscriptions are not always grammatical. In the present one the gender of the numerals is contrary to rule. The letters at the end of the inscription are presumably an abbreviation, standing either

for the name of the officer responsible for the issue of the stuff or for that of the factory in which it was made. The first two letters might be read AZ as an abbreviation for *ṭirâz*, but it does not appear that there was any *ṭirâz* factory with a name that would answer to the second word.

No. 2. COLLECTION No. 1748.

Fragment of a garment of glazed linen, counting about fifty warp threads to the inch, with an inscription embroidered in black linen thread in a loose chain stitch. 12 × 17 inches. The inscription is ⅞ inch wide. From the excavations at Fustât.

Inscription. . . الله لعبد الله جعفر الامام المقتدر بالله امير المؤمنين اطال الله بقاه مما امر بطراز الخاصة بسابور على يدي الوزير وزير امير المؤمنين ايده الله سنة خمس ثلثمئة

Translation. . . . of God to the servant of God, Ja'far the imâm El Muqtadir billâh, Commander of the Faithful, may God prolong his life. Ordered [to be made] in the private factory at Sâbûr, under the direction of the vizier, the vizier of the Commander of the Faithful. God strengthen him. Year 305.

Date. A.H. 305 A.D. 917.

Remark. The word وزير in the inscription is written in a curious way, the tail of the ز being omitted each time that the word occurs, and that of the ر the first time, apparently because the space below the line is already occupied by a stroke leaving no room for the tails. The formation of the س of خمس in the date, also, is most peculiar. *Ṭirâz el khâṣṣa*, the private factory, literally the factory of people of rank, and its opposite *ṭirâz el 'âmma*, the public factory, that of common folk, are mentioned in other similar inscriptions. The exact signification of these terms is doubtful. It has been supposed that *ṭirâz el khâṣṣa*

means a royal factory, that is, one that worked only for the government, and this may be correct.

Sâbûr might be read equally well Shâbûr. There is a town of this name in the province of Buḥaira in the Delta. But there is nothing to suggest that Shâbûr was distinguished at any time for its weaving, and it is almost certain that the inscription must refer to Sâbûr in the province of Fâris in Persia. It is recorded that towards the middle of the tenth century linen used to be exported from Fâris to all parts of the Islamic world,[1] and that a little later most of the flax used for linen made at one of the towns of the province was grown locally, though earlier the flax had often been imported from Egypt.[2] Four towns are named as the centres of the linen industry of Fâris at about the time in question.[3] One of them, Kâzarûn, is described as the Damietta of Persia,[4] but there was no government *ṭirâz* or factory there, though there was one at each of the other three centres.[5] Kâzarûn was situated in the district of Sâbûr and not far distant from the town of Sâbûr, which was the chief town of the district, and noted then for its perfumes, but not for its weaving. Kâzarûn appears to have grown in the tenth century at the expense of Sâbûr,[6] and it seems probable that at the beginning of the century Sâbûr had been an important weaving centre, with a government factory of its own, and that it was then that stuff from Sâbûr enjoyed the reputation spoken of by Ibn Ḥauqal.[7]

The character of the inscription is quite in accordance with a Persian origin. The fragment appears to be the earliest Islamic textile yet discovered that can be attributed by means of an inscription to Persia and dated.

No. 3. Collection No. 1750.

Fragment of linen, probably part of a garment, counting about sixty to sixty-four warp threads to the inch, with a band

[1] *Iṣṭakhrî*, p. 153. [2] *Muqaddasî*, p. 442. [3] *Iṣṭakhrî*, p. 153.
[4] *Muqaddasî*, p. 433. [5] *Iṣṭakhrî*, p. 153. [6] *Muqaddasî*, p. 433.
[7] p. 179.

of tapestry woven in red silk and undyed linen thread on the warp threads of the linen, only part of the weft threads having been withdrawn. 14 × 24 inches. The tapestry band is $\frac{5}{16}$ of an inch wide. From the excavations at Fustât.

Inscription.—بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وصلى الله على محمد [خاتم
الانبياء (؟)] بركة من الله [وغنا و(؟)] غبطة لعبد الله الفضل الامام
المطيع لله امير [المؤمنين اطال] الله بقاءه امر . . . عمله بطراز
العامة بدمياط [سنة . . .]

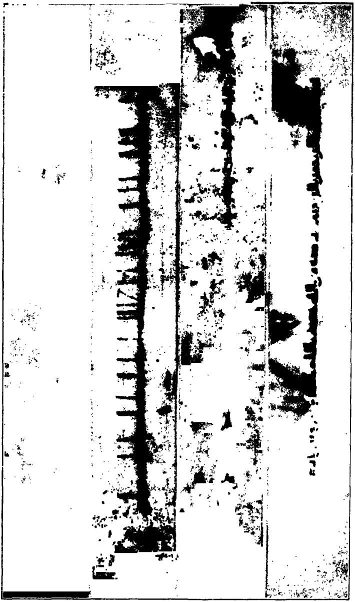
Translation.—In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate. And may God bless Muhammad [the last of the Prophets]. Blessing from God [and competence and] felicity be on the servant of God, el Faḍl, the imâm El Muṭî' lillâh, Commander [of the Faithful, may God prolong] his life. Ordered by . . . to be made in the public factory at Damietta [year . . .].

Date.—A.H. 334–356 = A.D. 946–969.

Remark.—The stuff, having been made in Egypt, must be dated between the year of the accession of El Muṭî' and the conquest of Egypt by the Fatimids. The public factory, *ṭirâz el 'âmma*, has been alluded to above. The inscription is not well executed, and the م of دمياط might be doubtful but for a similar م in عمله, where the reading is not open to question. This fragment appears to be the first piece of the kind published that is marked with Damietta as the place of manufacture. The town was so famous for its linen that a specimen is particularly valuable.

No. 4. Collection No. 1751.

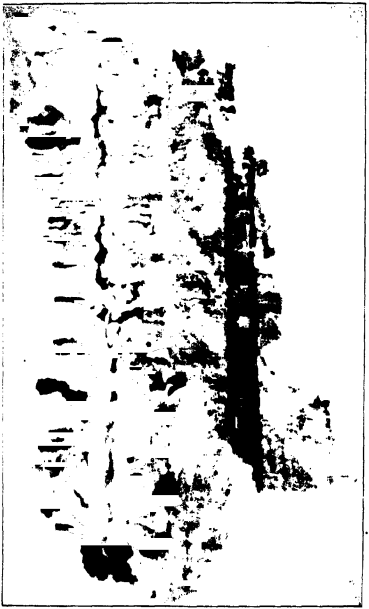
Fragment of a garment of very fine linen, counting about eighty warp threads to the inch, with a band of tapestry woven in dark blue silk on the warp threads, part of the weft threads having been withdrawn, the only part withdrawn for the stems of the letters being that making the width of the stems.



1 2 3 4

TEXTILES IN MR. ELSBERG'S COLLECTION. About ⅓ size.

[To face p. 132.



5

TEXTILE IN MR. ELSBERG'S COLLECTION. About ⅓ size.

16 × 24 inches. The tapestry band is ½ inch wide. From the excavations at Fustât.

Inscription.—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم بركة من الله عبد الله امير المؤمنين . . .

Translation.—In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate. Blessing from God [be on] the servant of God, the Commander of the Faithful.

Date.—Probably tenth century.

Remark.—After Commander of the Faithful there are traces of two words, but they are so faint that the reading can hardly be established. They may be simply ايده الله "God strengthen him." It is more likely that they are the title of the Khalif, and الطائع بالله has been suggested. If the piece bears the name of Eṭ Ṭâ'i', it cannot have been manufactured in Egypt, seeing that Egypt was in possession of the Fatimids throughout Eṭ Ṭâ'i's reign (A.H. 362–381 = A.D. 974–991). The piece seems to be Abbasid. The square characters of the inscriptions are remarkable, and there does not appear to be any other example of the same kind of script.

No. 5. Collection No. 1746.

Fragment, probably of a garment of linen gauze, though possibly of a scarf or turban cloth, with bands of tapestry woven in coloured silks on the warp threads of the linen gauze, the weft threads having been withdrawn. 14 × 20¾ inches. The tapestry band containing the double line of inscriptions in large letters is 5½ inches wide; the letters are about 2⅜ inches high, all in light brown and dark brown silk. The narrow band, separated by 2⅜ inches of linen gauze from the wider, is 1¼ inches wide, and is bordered at the upper and under side by an inscription ¼ inch wide in dark blue silk on a light brown silk ground; between these two inscriptions on a ground of tan silk are conventionalized birds, alternately in light blue and in green silk, and outlined in black silk. From a cemetery in Faiyûm.

Inscriptions.—Double line in large letters

. . [الرحـ]ـمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله نصر [من ا] لله الرحـ]ـمن
الرحيم لـه . .

[ا]لمؤمنين [. .] العزيز بالله[.] .لا اله الا الله والتوفيق . . .

Small inscriptions: الملك لله

Translation. . . . the Merciful and Compassionate. There is no god but the one God. Aid from God the Merciful and Compassionate to . . .

The Faithful . . . El'Aziz billâh . . . there is no god but the one God and prosperity . . .

The kingdom is God's (repeated).

Date.—Probably A.H. 386–411 = A.D. 996–1020.

Remark. This magnificent stuff is much damaged and the reading of the first words of the second line is difficult. El Mu'minin at the beginning of the line can hardly be wrong, and El'Aziz also seems to be fairly certain. Between the two there are the remains of a word now quite illegible. It can hardly have been anything else than *ibn*. Accordingly, the inscription does not celebrate the Fatimid Khalif El'Azîz himself, but his son, and it has been assigned to the reign of El Ḥâkim. There is a somewhat similar fragment in the Victoria and Albert Museum attributed to El Ḥâkim also (Catalogue of Muhammadan Textiles, No. 845). In the Catalogue Mr. Kendrick draws attention to two other fragments of about the same date, but derived from distant quarters. One of them is the izâr of Hishâm II, Khalif of Cordova (976–1013), preserved in the Royal Academy at Madrid. The other is a fragment of linen from Sâmarrâ, in the Kaiser Friederick Museum, Berlin, bearing the name of the Abbasid Khalif El Muṭi' (illustrated by Kühnel in *Islâm*, xiv, p. 83).

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

MIDAS OF PHRYGIA

Some fragmentary Hittite cuneiform tablets recently published by Professor Götze (*KUB.*, xxiii, No. 72) have brought to light a king Mîtas or Midas, who preceded the Mîta or Midas of Sargon's inscriptions by some 500 years. The fragments belong to the closing period of the Hittite empire, and may be confidently ascribed to Dudkhaliyas IV, about 1230 B.C. Mîtas appears in them as attacking the allies and subjects of the Hittite king in Isuwa, Komana, and Kizzuwadna, more especially a city called Ismiriga. None of the fragments happens to contain the name of the country over which Mîtas ruled, but as the western neighbour of Isuwa was the land of the Muskâ or Moschi, while Sargon's Mîta was a Moschian we can assume that the Mîtas of the tablets was a Moschian also. The Moschians formed part of the northern horde who overthrew the Hittite empire and we learn from Tiglath-pileser I that they had seized and occupied Alzi and Qummukh, south of Isuwa.

I have long believed that the name of Mîta as that of an Asianic invader of northern Syria goes back to an early epoch. Mitanna or Mitanni, which included northern Mesopotamia as far south as the district opposite Carchemish, is simply "the land of Mîta", and the name is found as early as the Karnak geographical lists of Thothmes III at Karnak, where it is coupled with [Ga]gati, which must have been somewhere in the neighbourhood of Mer'ash. The name is also found in the letter of the Mitannian king Tusratta; it was already of some antiquity if we may judge from the fact that in a letter of Saussatar recently found near Kerkuk it had been corrupted into Maiteri by some of the aboriginal population of the conquered district. We therefore now have three early kings of the name made known to us by the cuneiform texts, (1) a Mîta who gave his name to Mitanni

and probably belongs to the Hyksos period, (2) the Mita of the newly published Hittite fragments, and (3) the Mita of Sargon. They all belonged to north-eastern Asia Minor, and were invaders of the fertile north Syrian lands which lay to the south-east of them. Two at least of them were Muskâ or Moschians.

In Greek history and legend Midas is a Phrygian. Here, again, there was more than one Midas, the last recorded of whom lived in the time of the Kimmerian invasion and was said to have perished through drinking bull's blood. One of his sons fled to the court of Crœsus. He may have been the Midas, son of Gordius, who according to Herodotus (i, 14) was "the first of the barbarians known to us" who sent offerings to Delphi. Another Midas mentioned by Plato (*Phædr.* 264 D) was buried in a tomb adorned with the bronze figure of a girl, while yet another was buried in one of the famous rock-tombs of Kumbet in the Doghanlü valley, which the Phrygian inscription attached to it states was made by Ates the Arkian high-priest "for Midas the king" (*vanaktei*). The name of Midas also occurs in the fragmentary Phrygian inscription discovered by Professor Garstang at Tyana (Sayce, *Journ. of Hellenic Studies*, xlvi, pp. 29–35).

Midas was a prominent figure in Asianic and early Greek myth, and like the Hittite kings could be entitled a "god". The gold produced by the Phrygian mines (or rivers) and trade became the precious metal into which everything that Midas touched was turned; the rose-gardens of Asia Minor, from which Sargon of Akkad had brought the rose-trees which he acclimatised in Babylonia, were celebrated as the gardens of Midas, and the ass's ears of the Phrygian king formed a subject for Greek art. The name of the king commemorated in the Moscho-Hittite inscription discovered by Sir W. M. Ramsay at Ilghin (the ancient Tyriaion ?) is represented by an ass's head (which I read Moas), and the "Spring of Midas" in Phrygia (Xenophon, *Anab.*, i, 2, 13. *Pseudo-Plutarch*, *De Fluviis*, 10, 1), was called *"Inna*, with which we may

compare the ἴννος of Hesychius, "a mule whose father is a horse and the mother an ass." It was at the Spring of Inna that Seilenus was captured by Midas.

The name of "Mida" occurs twice in the fragment of the early Phrygian inscription found by Professor Garstang at Tyana (Bor), where the ethnic title *Memeuis* "the Memewan," is attached to it. The same title (written *Memevais*) is given to Baba, the architect of the Old Phrygian architectural remains at Kumbet. In one of the Lydian inscriptions of Sardes (xiii, 4) reference is made to a "Midas quarter" (*Mida-ḍ-ad*) at Sardes, and a city of Mîdas is mentioned in a Hittite text (*Hittite Texts in the British Museum*, No. 4, 8), where it is associated with the city of Salmâs. On the leaden Moscho-Hittite rolls found at Assur MI-*tua*-MÊ "the city of Mita" interchanges with *Tua-uana-a* or Tyana, and accordingly in the Tyana inscription from Bor (MESSERSCHMIDT, No. xxxviii) the ideographic MI has the phonetic spelling attached to it (MI-*Mi-i-t*(*u*)*a-na-mi-s*, i.e. *Mîta-na-mis* "of the land of Mita", l. 12). In correspondence with this we have in CARCHEMISH, i. pl. A 11*c*, 3, 4, D.P. *Tarkus* NI-*is* *Khul-a-n-i-is-mi* TUTIS-MIS-*mia* *Mi-ta-si* *un-ni-is* AKUAN-*ti-s-na*, "may Tarkus, the god of the River-land of the River Khulanis, which belongs to the people of Midas (*Mita-si*), bless them," while in another Carchemish inscription (MESSERSCHMIDT, x, 7) Khalmis-yikimes (??), King of Carchemish, calls himself *Mi-ta-a-kan-is* "descendant of Mîtas".

The Moscho-Hittite texts of Tyana and Assur, I believe, belong to the same period as the early Phrygian texts, that is to say, the seventh century B.C., but future discoveries may show that both classes of texts must be assigned to an earlier date. However this may be, the name of Midas characterized more than one early Phrygian or Moschian conqueror, who carried his arms south-eastward as far as the borders of Mesopotamia. One of them must have lived before the Tel el-Amarna age; another belonged to the period when

the northerners were establishing feudal kingdoms like those of the Normans in mediaeval Europe, and the Moschians under their five leaders took possession of the lands south of the Arsanias. Tiglath-pileser I refers to the latter event as having taken place more than fifty years before his time, and the Mita or Midas of the Hittite tablets will have belonged to the earlier stages of the same movement. We need not be surprised, therefore, that Midas came to play a conspicuous part in Græco-Asianic mythology or that he was regarded as a god. The Hittite kings were gods not only after their death, but also in their lifetime.

Recent discoveries seem to indicate that the first occupation of Phrygia by the Nordic invaders from Europe must have occurred in the early bronze age, about 2000 B.C. The fact that the name of Midas was common both to the Phrygians and to the Moschians points to a connection between the two peoples, and it is worth notice that if my decipherment of the Moscho-Hittite inscriptions is correct there are a good many resemblances between the words and grammatical forms found in them and those found in the Old Phrygian texts.

By way of an appendix it may be added that the name of Gordius, who was the father of the semi-mythical Midas, is probably identical with the *Γερδιὸς* of Hesychius, who states that it signified *ὑφάντης*, "a weaver". The Cappadocian tablets have informed us that so far back as 2300 B.C. Asia Minor was celebrated for its manufacture of textiles, which were exported as far as Babylonia, and "the Gordian knot" occupied a prominent place in Greek mythology.

A. H. SAYCE.

KUMZARI *DIMESTAN*

In his interesting paper, "The Kumzari Dialect of the Shihuh Tribe," *JRAS*. 1930, pp. 785–854, Mr. Thomas has called attention to the word *dimestân* دمستان "winter" in this dialect, p. 839, 854. The word raises interesting questions.

It is well known that the South-Western dialect (Old Persian, New Persian) is distinguished from the remaining Iranian dialects by the development of Indo-European *ǵ* and *ǵh* to *d* in contrast to the *z* elsewhere. There are numerous examples in Old Persian : *daraniya-* " gold ", Av. *zaranya-*, Old Persian *drayah-* " sea ", Ar. *zrayah-* ; see Hübschmann, *Pers. Studien*, 220–3. Kumzārī presents both *d-* and *z-* : *dil* " heart " is probably a loan-word from Persian, *dēriyō* " sea ", *dimestān* " winter ". beside *zamiyō* " earth ", *zāseh* " born ", *zuwān* " tongue ".

Kumzārī *dimestān* interests Pahlavi studies. Here the word for " winter " is written [illegible]. As usually in Pahlavi the first sign [illegible] is ambiguous. Here only two values of [illegible] are in question, *z* or *d*. For *z*, cf. [illegible] *zamān* " time " where *z* is from *ž*, Arm. loan-word *žam*, *žamanak*, derived from *gam-* " to come " with Indo-Iranian *g*. Either *zimastān* or *dimastān* is a possible reading here. The Pāzand texts have two readings. Neriosengh read *damastąn* in the *Mēnōke χrat* (West, *Mainyo i Khard*, *Glossary*, p. 54). His readings always deserve careful consideration. In the Pāzand of the *Bundahišn* (which contains often faulty Pāzand) *zamistąn* and *damistąn* occur equally : *Antia*, *Pāzend Texts*, pp. 45 . 11, 19 ; 46 . 6, 11, 18, 21 ; 47 . 7, 8, 14, 19 (*zamistąn*) ; p. 45 . 13, 20 ; 46 . 8, 15 ; 47 . 6 (*damistąn*). Junker (*Frahang i Pahlavīk*, p. 109) supplies the traditional (Pāzand) readings *dəmastaąn*, *damstąn* for the Aramaic [illegible] " winter ". Nevertheless these Pāzand forms with *d-* were rejected by Horn, *Neuper. Etymol.*, p. 148, and by Hübschmann, *Pers. Stud.*, p. 70 ; and Junker gave *ziməstān* in the *Frahang i Pahlavīk*, loc. cit. In all other dialects only forms with *z-* were known. To those quoted by Horn we can now add Sogd. (Buddh.) *zm'k* " winter " and Sakan *ysumānu* " in winter ". It is well-known that both North-Western and South-Western forms occur in Pahlavi, as in *diz* " fortress " (N.-W.) beside *dil* " heart " (S.-W.). Kumzārī *dimestān* may therefore be

considered to justify the Pāzand reading with *d-*, thus supplying the South-Western form beside the North-Western *zimastān*. With this goes also a recognition of Pahl. [Pahlavi script] **dimak*, **damak*, *Ardāy Virāz Nāmak*, 18 . 3, N. Pers. *dama* "wind and snow, icicle". Arab. loanword *damaq* "snowstorm", see Hübschmann, *Pers. Stud.*, p. 70, cf. Sanskr. *hima-* "frost, snow".

One other point of interest in Mr. Thomas's paper is the phonetic change *t* > δ > *r* presented by *dušambur* "Monday"; cf. New Persian شنبد beside شنبه, Turfan Pahlavi *šmbt*, Salemann, *Manich. Studien*, p. 126, Arm. *šabatʻ*; *dūr* "smoke", Pahl. *dūt*, N. Pers. *dūd*; *spīr* "white", Pahl. *spēt*, N. Pers. *sufīd*; also the loanword *korχudā* "old man", Pahl. *katakχvatāy*, N. Pers. *kadχudā*. The *-r* of *čōr* "wash" is also probably δ, cf. Pahl. *šōδom* "I wash", N. Pers. *šūyam*.

Kumzāri *bārm* "waves" can be compared with Av. *var'mi-* "wave", and *hāmīn* "summer" is Pahl. *hāmēn* "summer". The word *keft*, *kuft* "he fell" is the well-known North-Western word (see Tedesco, *Dialektologie*, *Monde Oriental*, xv. 29. 2) corresponding to the South-Western *pat-* "fall".

H. W. Bailey.

PHERENDATES—PARNADATTA

When, in the *JRAS.*, 1929, p. 904 *sq.*, I tried to explain the name of *Parṇadatta*, the governor of Surāṣṭra mentioned by Skandagupta in his Junāgadh inscription, I had unfortunately overlooked Iranian evidence which is no doubt apt to support my hypothesis.

The suggestion was that *Parṇadatta* which, from an Indian point of view, is scarcely explainable is in reality nothing but an Iranian **Farna-dāta-* (older **Xvarənō-dāta-*) "created by *farr*".[1] Such a form **Farna-dāta-* is without any doubt

[1] On the meaning of *Xvarənah-farr*, cf. the sagacious remarks of Dr. Nyberg, *Le Monde Oriental*, xxiii, 1929, 367 sq.

to be found in the names rendered by the Greeks Φερενδάτης or Φαρανδάτης. Of persons carrying this name no less than five seem to be known to us through the notices of the classical authors. Herodotus, vii, 79, tells us that in the army of Xerxes Μαρῶν δὲ καὶ Κόλχων ἦρχε Φαρανδάτης[1] ὁ Τεάσπιος; and in ix, 76, we learn that this Φαρανδάτης,[2] who is also mentioned by Pausanias, iii, 4, 9, was killed in the battle of Plataeae. In vii, 67, Herodotus again tells us that Σαραγγέων δὲ ἦρχε Φερενδάτης ὁ Μεγαβάζου; apparently there were in the army of Xerxes at least two generals of the name of **Farna-dāta*. A nephew of the unfortunate Xerxes who was killed at Eurymedon (467 B.C.) also was called Φερενδάτης, cf. Diodorus, xi, 61, 3; Plutarch, *Cimon*, 12, 6[3] (quoting Ephorus). Still another Φερενδάτης, according to Diodorus, xvi, 51, 3, was the satrap of Egypt during the reign of Artaxerxes III Ochus (after 345 B.C.).[4] Finally, the oldest of all seems to be Pherendates, satrap of Egypt during the reign of Darius I, and from whom a letter is still preserved.[5] That so many high-born Persians wore the name **Farna-dāta-* seems to me to make it still more probable that this is really the form underlying the name *Parṇadatta*.

This *Parṇadatta*, by the way, had a son called *Cakrapālita*.[6] Whether this name can possibly be a translation of an Iranian one may so far be left aside.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

[1] Certain MSS. read Φερενδάτης.

[2] Here certain MSS. read Φαρναδάτεος, which would certainly be a better form.

[3] Ed. Doehner (Didot), i, 581.

[4] Cp. Justi, *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, ii, 468. So far I have used materials found in Justi, *Altiranisches Namenbuch*, p. 91.

[5] Cf. Spiegelberg, *Sitz. ber. d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1928, p. 604 sqq.

[6] Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*.

KRISHNA DEVA RAYA'S CONQUEST OF RACHOL

It is not the purpose of this paper to tell the story of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya's campaign against Rachol. It has been narrated at length by the Portuguese chronicler Nuniz whom Mr. Sewell followed though misplacing the campaign.

Our aim is to find out what city and fortress was the one conquered by the great Tuḷuva Emperor. Sewell without any hesitation supposes that Rachol was Raichur, in the centre of the Deccan. True, Raichur was also seized by the great Emperor, as Ferishta relates,[1] but the learned author finds a stumbling-block as regards the date. The conquest of Raichur took place (according to Ferishta) in H.E. 927, which corresponds to the year A.D. 1521. But Nuniz says that the great fight occurred on the new moon day of the month of May, A.D. 1522.[2]

Indeed, the only reason Sewell seems to have had for the identification, besides the similarity of the names Rachol and Raichur, is that "taking the two narratives (Nuniz's and Ferishta's) as a whole, there are too many points of coincidence to leave any doubt in the mind that each chronicler is writing of the same event".[3]

Nevertheless, there are several reasons against this identity, and these are the reasons we intend to study in the following pages.

1. *The Name.*—Though there is some phonetical similarity between Raichur and Rachol, the origin of the words nevertheless seem to be totally different. Raichur may probably mean the *hair-knot* of the king, referring to the peculiar geological formation of the Raichur hill. What Rachol originally meant it is hard to say, its present form being probably a corruption made by the Portuguese. That the place might be an original settlement of the Kshatrya tribe

[1] Ferishta-Briggs, iii, pp. 48-51.
[2] Sewell, p. 326.
[3] Sewell, p. 153.

of Rachevadus seems phonetically not improbable; yet ethnographically this seems too far-fetched an explanation.

2. *The Meaning of the Word Rachol.*—Ráchol for the chronicler Nuniz could never mean Raichur in the centre of the Deccan. Rachol is for the Portuguese nothing else but Rachol, the fort city of the peninsula of Salsette. Faria y Sousa also speaks of Rachol, not of Raichur, as conquered by Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya.[1]

3. *Geographical Position.*—The narrative of Paes records that the mountains round Vijayanagara reach the kingdom of Daquem (Deccan), the territories belonging to the Ydallcão (Adil Khan, the Sultan of Bijapur) and the city of Rachol that formerly belonged to the king of Narsymga.[2] Paes here mentions three countries as the limit which the Vijayanagara mountains reach. These three countries run from east to west—the kingdom of the Deccan (viz. Golkonda), the kingdom of Ydallcão (Bijapur), and the city of Rachol. That by the kingdom of the Deccan Paes means the kingdom of Golkonda is evident from another passage of his chronicle, where he points out the northern boundaries of the Empire of Vijayanagara. These boundaries are the following: the territory of Bengal, the kingdom of Oriyya, the kingdom of the Dakhan, the lands of the Ydallcão and those of Ozemelluco (Nizam-ul-Mulkh of Ahmednagar).[3] From this it appears that the kingdom of the Deccan lay between the kingdom of Orissa to the east and the kingdom of Bijapur to the west. A kingdom thus described cannot be other than Golkonda; and accordingly the city of Rachol is placed by Paes west of the kingdom of Bijapur, viz. in the present Goa territory.

4. *The Presence of the Portuguese Captain.*—Faria y Sousa narrates that after the defeat of the army of Bijapur, when Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya turned his forces against the walls of

[1] Faria y Sousa, *Asia Portuguesa*, i, p. 195.
[2] Sewell, p. 243.
[3] Sewell, p. 239.

Rachol, twenty Portuguese, headed by a captain named Cristovão de Figueiredo, suddenly appeared before the king. They were taking some Arab horses to be sold to Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya, and eventually entered his camp in front of Rachol.[1] From the Spanish original of this author it may be easily gathered that the intention of Figueiredo was to proceed to Vijayanagara; and it was only after leaving Goa that he heard of the king's proximity while besieging Rachol. This seems to be confirmed by Correa, according to whom Figueiredo was sent by the Governor Lopo Soares to Vijayanagara with horses and elephants.[2]

Now, supposing that Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya was then besieging Raichur, Figueiredo while on the way to Vijayanagara could not meet the Emperor, since Raichur is farther from Goa than Vijayanagara itself. On the other hand, supposing that Kṛishṇa was besieging Rachol in Salsette, the Portuguese Captain would hear of the campaign of that monarch as soon as he left Goa, and thus would therefore proceed to the Vijayanagara camp at Rachol to transact his own business with the sovereign.

5. *The Date.*—We have already seen that the date of the conquest of Raichur, as given by Ferishta, does not coincide with the date of the conquest of Rachol assigned by Nuniz. Hence they must be regarded as two different actions, unless weighty reasons (which in the case do not exist) should suggest an identification.

6. *Consequences of the Capture of Rachol. (a) Conquest of Salsette.*—All the old Portuguese authors tell us that after the conquest of Rachol, Ruy de Mello, the acting Governor of Goa on behalf of Diogo Lopes de Sequeira (then absent in the Red Sea), taking advantage of the distress caused to the Sultan of Bijapur by the surrender of Rachol, seized

[1] Faria y Sousa, op. cit., i, p. 198.

[2] Correa, *Lendas da India*, ii, pp. 509–10; Couto, Dec. iii, liv. iv, c. v, p. 431. The date does not seem to agree.

the mainlands of Goa.[1] What was meant by the mainlands of Goa is explained by Sewell himself when stating that "Ruy de Mello took possession of the mainland of Goa, *including Salsette*, in ten days".[2] (Italics mine.) Accordingly, after the capture of Rachol, the whole of Salsette was seized by the Portuguese, taking advantage of the fact that the power of the Sultan of Bijapur was enfeebled there. Certainly the capture of Raichur would not have enfeebled the power of the Adil Shahi Sultan in the neighbourhood of Goa; but the conquest of the fort of Rachol, in the strategic corner of the peninsula of Salsette, deprived the Sultan of his main stronghold beyond the river Zuarim. This explains the rapidity of the conquest of Salsette and probably other continental lands. Such a conquest would not have been carried out so quickly had the fort of Rachol still been garrisoned by the army of Bijapur.

(*b*) *Salsette handed over to the Portuguese by Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya.*—The Vijayanagara Emperor was so grateful to the Portuguese for their help in the conquest of Rachol that shortly afterwards he granted all the territories of Salsette and his rights over them (as having belonged to his ancestors) to the Portuguese Governor in perpetuity. By way of compensation he claimed full monopoly of all the Persian horses that should arrive at Goa.[3] If the Emperor had acquired no territorial possessions in Salsette this gift would have been merely a renunciation of whatever rights he claimed there. But all the contemporary authors speak of a real

[1] Barros, Dec. III, liv. iv, c. v, p. 443; Faria y Sousa, i, p. 196; Lafitau, *Histoire des Decouvertes et Conquestes des Portugais*, ii, pp. 344–5, Paris, 1734.

[2] Sewell, op. cit., p. 143.

[3] Correa, *Lendas da India*, ii, p. 581; Paes, *Promptuario das diffinicoes Indicas*, pp. 72–3, says: "Esta Fortaleza de Rachol sendo do Rey Idalxa veyo contra ell Crisna Rao . . . e finalmente entregou a dita fortaleza aos Portuguezes, governando este Estado Diogo Lopez de Sequeira (como refere o Faria, *Asia*, tom. 1, p. 3, cap. 45), o Goes (Goes, p. 4, c. 61, page 318), & affirma o Padre Frey Francisco Negrao (Nergr [*sic*] lit. arg. 10, fol. 441), que nos contos desta cidade esta o conto desta entrega."

donation. No campaign of Krishṇa Dēva Rāya in Salsette is ever mentioned, if you prescind from this conquest of Rachol. There cannot, therefore, remain any doubt that the fort captured by Krishṇa Dēva Rāya with the help of Christovão de Figueiredo was not the fort of Raichur, but the fort of Rachol by which he secured possession of Salsette.

In the contemporary accounts there is only one objection against this identification. Nuniz says that "this city of Rachol lies between two great rivers". Mr. Sewell has naturally identified these two rivers with the Krishṇa and the Tuṅgabhadrā, in the midst of which stood the fort of Raichur. But Rachol also can be said to be between two great rivers—the river Zuarim flows from south-east to north-west, and the other river called "of Parodá" flows from the south-east, takes a north-western direction, then suddenly turns towards the east and joins the Zuarim south-east of Rachol. Near the northern angle formed by the union of these two rivers stand the ruins of the fort of Rachol.

The natural and obvious identification of the fort of Rachol conquered by Krishṇa Dēva Rāya with the fort of Rachol in the Portuguese territory of Salsette explains the extraordinary length given to the narrative of this campaign by the Portuguese chronicler. This length evidently misled Sewell, who, according to his theory, supposes that the capture of Raichur marks the climax of the glory of Krishṇa Dēva Rāya's campaign. Mr. Smith in his *Oxford History of India* held the same view.[1] But Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar had already noted in 1917 that the importance given by Nuniz (and with him by the other authors) to the conquest of Rachol was evidently exaggerated.[2] In fact, the campaign of Krishṇa Dēva Rāya in Orissa seems to be much more important, both as regards military enterprise and as far

[1] Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p. 304, 2nd ed.

[2] S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *The Yet-remembered Ruler of a Long Forgotten Empire*, p. 19 (reprinted from the *Hindustani Review*, 1917).

as the sphere of political influence in Southern and Western India is concerned. This campaign is sung by the poets and commemorated in many inscriptions, specially in the Andhra country; whilst that of Raichur-Rachol has only been briefly mentioned in Ferishta's history and in an inscription of the district. These two documents evidently speak of the Raichur conquest. Is there any satisfactory explanation in this difference of appreciation between the Indian sources and the Portuguese chronicles? If Rachol is identified with Raichur no explanation is possible; but if the Rachol of Nuniz is identified with the fort of Rachol in Salsette the reason is quite evident. His account of the conquest of Rachol is so full of detail on account of the special interest the Portuguese had in that fort—the stronghold of the recently acquired peninsula of Salsette. Though the conquest was not of great importance for the empire, it was very important indeed for the development of the Portuguese possessions in India. That was the reason why Nuniz, and after him several Portuguese authors, contemporary or almost contemporary to these events, speak at length of the conquest of Rachol, giving only a slight reference to the campaigns of Orissa that had no connection at all with the interests of the Portuguese in the East.

H. Heras, S.J.

URDU GRAMMATICAL NOTES. I

(a) Masculine Nouns ending in -ī

We are apt to think that all nouns ending in -ī and denoting inanimate things are fem. with the exception of *pānī*, water; *jī*, mind, self; *ghī*, a kind of butter; *motī*, pearl; *dahī*, buttermilk. In this we are wrong. There are many other masc. nouns ending -ī. I submit the following list; perhaps there are others. One or two of them are occasionally heard fem. In the case of some it is possible to explain why they are masc. (e.g. names of months are masc.), but these

explanations are often of little value to the student. He wishes simply to know which nouns in -ī are masc. The reason for their being masc. is of secondary interest. I have purposely given the Urdu forms of the Arabic words; their Arabic forms do not concern us.

māẓī, past tense.
mut'addī, trans. verb.
mushtarī, planet Jupiter.
ṭūṭī, parrot (metaph.). *uskā ṭūṭī bol rahā hai*, he is famous.
qālī, carpet (also *qālīn*).
dī, yesterday.
jadī, Pole Star, Aries, Tropic of Capricorn.
jallāmīrī, *jhallāmīrī*, boy's game.
ma'nī, meaning; masc. pl. (commoner *ma'nē*).
janvarī, January.
farvarī, February.
maī, May.
julāī, July.
farvardī, Persian month (also *farvardīn*).
urdī, Persian month (also *urdī bihisht*).
jumādī ul avval (or *ṣānī*, or *ākhir*), Muḥammadan month.

(b) The Nom. Plur. of Fem. Nouns in -a

This is a point not taken up in grammars. The plur. of these nouns is formed not by changing -a to -ē, but by changing -a to -ā and adding -ē. Thus we get —

fākhtāē, doves: *zaccāē*, women with newly born children: *māda barrāē*, female lambs.

Similarly, if one were to get plurals of Arabic fems. in -a, such as *malika*, queen; *vālidā*, mother, they would also end in -āē. As a rule these Arabic fems. avoid plurals.

(c) Peculiarities in the Use of *ne*

To begin with we may state a general rule:—

When the root of one verb is joined to another verb so as to make a single compound verb, if either verb does not take *ne*, the compound verb does not take *ne*; *voh hãs dī*, she laughed; *voh lāyā*, he brought.

The following verbs, almost all of which are or can be trans., do not take *ne*, whether they have an object or not.

baknā, speak foolishly.
bhūlnā, forget.
cuknā, finish.
jannā, give birth to.
karnā in such phrases as *banāyā karnā*.
lagnā, begin.
lānā, bring (prob. contracted from *le ānā*).
laṛnā, fight (with), bite.
pānā, succeed in, manage to, get permission to.
dikhāī denā, appear.
sunāī denā, be heard.
pakṛāī dena, be caught.
denā used with any other verbal noun of this form.

The following are both trans. and intrans. They take *ne* when they are trans., otherwise they do not.

badalnā, change.
bharnā, fill.
jhulasnā, scorch.
palaṭnā, return.
pukārnā, call out, call to someone for help.
qarār pānā, be decided; obtain rest.
ragaṛnā, rub.
ulaṭnā, turn upside down.

The usage of the following is variable :—

hās denā, laugh (better without *ne*).
paṛhnā, learn, read (better with *ne*).
ro denā, cry (better without).
samajhnā, understand (better without).
sīkhnā, learn (better with).

The following never take *ne* when used without an object. When they have an object they may take it.

bolnā, speak (much better without).

hārnā, lose, be defeated; *jītnā*, win. When these two have an object such as *bāzī*, game, *sharṭ*, bet, they may either take or omit *ne*.

cāhnā omits *ne* when the nom. is *dil*, *jī*, heart, etc. Otherwise it takes it.

It should be mentioned that *bahaṛnā*, argue; *cillānā*, cry out; do not take *ne*, while *sāth denā*, accompany, does.

The following intrans. verbs take *ne* :—

thūknā, spit. This can be trans. as in *sāre shahr ne us ko thūkā*, the whole city despised him.
hagnā, *mūtna*, perform the offices of nature.
mānnā, agree (sometimes intrans.).

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

(To be completed in the April Journal.)

FONDATION DE GOEJE

COMMUNICATION

1. Le bureau de la fondation n'a pas subi de modifications depuis le mois de novembre 1929, et est ainsi composé: C. Snouck Hurgronje (président), M. Th. Housma, Tj. de Boer, J. J. Salverda de Grave et C. van Vollenhoven (secrétaire-trésorier).

2. Depuis quelques mois le bureau s'occupe de la publication éventuelle de deux travaux dans le domaine de la littérature arabe.

3. Des huit publications de la fondation il reste un certain nombre d'exemplaires, qui sont mis en vente au profit de la fondation, chez l'éditeur E. J. Brill, aux prix marqués: 1, Reproduction photographique du manuscrit de Leyde de la Ḥamâsah de al-Buḥturî (1909), fl. 96; 2, Kitâb al-Fâkhir de al-Mufaḍḍal, éd. C. A. Storey (1915), fl. 6; 3, Streitschrift des Gazâlî gegen die Bâṭinijja-Sekte, par I. Goldziher (1916), fl. 4·50; 4, Bar Hebraeus's Book of the Dove, éd. A. J. Wensinck (1919), fl. 4·50; 5, De Opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen, par C. van Arendonk (1919), fl. 6; 6, Die Richtungen der Islamischen Koranauslegung, par I. Goldziher (1920), fl. 10; 7, Die Epitome der Metaphysik des Averroes, übersetzt und mit einer Einleitung und Erläuterungen versehen, par S. Van den Bergh (1924), fl. 7·50; 8, Les "Livres des Chevaux", par G. Levi Della Vida (1928), fl. 5.

NOTE TO PAGE 509 OF THE JULY, 1930, NUMBER OF THE *JOURNAL* OF THE R.A.S.

By an unobservant slip I said that Juwaynī had drawn his materials for his history of the Ismā'īlīs from the *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh* of Rashīd al-Dīn. This of course could not have been true of the original work of Juwaynī. What we have, however, appears to be a redaction, unless we are to assume that Juwaynī used very unskilfully an early work on the Ismā'īlīs to which both he and Rashīd al-Dīn had access. The omissions in the extant text of the *Ta'rīkh-i Jahān-Gushā* make it evident at any rate that Rashīd al-Dīn did not use it as a source for his own history.

R. Levy.

NOTICE TO AUTHORS

Authors who desire to obtain more than twenty free copies of their articles as published in the *JRAS.* are requested to obtain from the Secretary the required Order Form, which should then be filled up as desired, and returned direct to Messrs. Austin & Sons, Ltd., Fore Street, Hertford, Herts, not later than 15th January, 15th April, 15th July, or 15th October, according as the article in question is published in the first, second, third, or fourth quarterly number of the *Journal.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS

FIRDAUSU 'L-ḤIKMAT OR PARADISE OF WISDOM OF 'ALÍ B. RABBAN AL-ṬABARÍ. Edited by M. Z. ṢIDDÍQÍ, Ph.D. Berlin: "Sonne" Press, 1928.

'Alí b. Rabban, son of a Jewish physician, teacher of the famous Muḥammad b. Zakariyyá al-Rází (Rhazes), and protégé of the Caliph Mutawakkil, has enjoyed something like a European reputation since the appearance of his *Kitábu 'l-Dín wa'l-Dawla*, which was discovered, edited, and translated by Dr. Mingana several years ago. This is an Apologia for Islam, and some amusing suggestions have been made as to the origin of the unique MS. The *Paradise of Wisdom*, which supplies little fuel for theological controversy and is preserved in five MSS., will hardly be supposed, even in Bollandist circles, to have been written by Professor Ṣiddíqí himself. Its historical importance as the oldest extant compendium of Arabian medicine was first pointed out by the late Professor E. G. Browne in his Fitzpatrick Lectures on that subject (pp. 37–44), where the character and general plan of the work are admirably described. While recognizing its value, he does not rank its originality very high; and it was, in fact, soon superseded by the works of Rází just as these in their turn were rendered obsolete by the *Qánún* of Ibn Síná. Moreover, the author cannot divest himself of the superstitions of his age: he believes in the "evil eye" and recommends the use of prayers, charms, and talismans. His book contains some curious physical speculations, e.g. on the genesis and transmutation of the four elements, a certain amount of metaphysics and psychology, and a great deal of medical information largely borrowed from Greek and Indian writers. With the help of Dr. Withington, the editor has traced many quotations and compared them with the originals (see Appendix 2). His verdict is that the author's translations are

inexact and often include matter compiled from various sources.

The editor has taken great pains to establish a critical text by collating three MSS. (British Museum, Berlin, and Gotha) throughout, while another in private possession at Lucknow has been used for the last 120 pages. Probably none of these copies is older than the sixteenth century. Passages found only in one MS. are distinguished by means of typographical signs, and the variants are given in footnotes. Although the list of errata might have been amplified with advantage, they are not unduly numerous considering the difficult conditions in which the text was printed. Besides the short English preface, there is a table of contents in Arabic and a full and excellent introduction in the same language, giving an account of 'Alī b. Rabban, his life and work, the authorities on whom he relies, and the circumstances which led to the preparation of this edition. Subsidised by the Trustees of the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Fund and dedicated to the memory of E. G. Browne, the volume well deserves a place in the already long record of scholarly research that has been aided by his learning and inspired by his example.

R. A. N.

THE ARABIC WORKS OF JABIR IBN HAYYAN. Edited with Translations into English and Critical Notes by ERIC JOHN HOLMYARD, M.A., D.Litt., etc. Vol. I, Part I (Arabic texts). 10 × 6½. pp. 15 + 172. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1928.

Dr. Holmyard is well known as a writer of authority on Arabic alchemy, whence there is no doubt of his qualifications for editing the works ascribed to Jābir ibn Ḥayyān. The fasciculus before us consists of eleven treatises reprinted from a lithographed edition which appeared in Bombay, 1891.

The notice of Jābir in the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm is of great interest, as among other things it records doubts whether such a person ever existed, though Ibn al-Nadīm holds that

no one would take the trouble to compose so many treatises and then ascribe them to someone else—an argument which would compel us to regard Hermes Trismegistus as a historical character. Dr. Holmyard promises to discuss this question in a later fasciculus, and his results will be awaited with interest.

The author's references to himself are rare. On p. 100 he mentions "my master Ja'far b. Muḥammad and my teacher Ḥarbī and Udhn al-Ḥimār (the Ass's Ear) the Logician". The first of these is the Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (A.H. 80–148), who is also introduced p. 147 as issuing instructions to the author; on this occasion he mentions his 500 books, whereas he more frequently refers to 112. The latter are specially enumerated by Ibn al-Nadīm, whose list contains most but not all of the titles in the printed text. The Arabic is often incorrect, which is not surprising in works of this kind; the only word noticed by the present writer which seems to belong to a later period than the second century A.H. is زغل for "false coin" p. 141, 10, which is otherwise (it would seem) first found in the work of Jaubari of the seventh century A.H. (see *ZDGM.*, xx, 495), then in the vernacular of Egypt (Ibn Iyās, ii, 56, 7; iii, 271, 4 a.f.; Sakhāwī's *Tibr Masbūk*, 309, 13 a.f.). However, we must wait for Dr. Holmyard's views both on the actual value of the matter contained in these pamphlets and their authorship. D. S. M.

RERUM NORMANNICARUM FONTES ARABICI. Collegit et edidit ALEXANDER SEIPPEL. 12½ × 9¼, pp. 45 + 154 + lxxiv. Osloae, 1896–1928.

This work is in the style of Amari's *Bibliotheca Arabo-Sicula* and Dorn's *Muhammedanische Quellen*, i.e. a collection of passages wherein Arabic authors say something about the Normans. A brief account of the sources, which are fifty in number, is prefixed to the texts, which are followed by critical notes. The earliest author cited is Ibn Khordadbeh, the latest

al-Maqqari. A certain number of the works excerpted are still in MS. and the collector has been at pains not only to obtain access to the libraries in which they are preserved, but to consult MSS. of books which are accessible in printed editions.

Since according to the title-page this volume has occupied thirty-two years in the production, more is scarcely to be expected; yet it would seem clear that the contents would naturally be of most interest to historical students who are unacquainted with Arabic; and in order to provide for their needs a translation should have been added. Those who are familiar with Arabic will regret the absence of Indices, such as Amari and Dorn took trouble to provide.

In some ways the collector seems to have erred on the side of liberality. He has reprinted the whole of Mutanabbi's most famous poem in praise of Saif al-daulah, commencing على قدر اهل العزم تاتى العزائم. Many of us must have read that ode and even learned it by heart without knowing that it contained any allusion to the Normans. Such an allusion is found by the collector in the line "How can the Rūm and the Rūs hope to destroy it (Saif al-daulah's fortress)?" The note explains: *Vocabulo al-Rus quod in hoc carmine occurrit designantur haud dubie mercennarii Scandinavicae stirpis, qui in exercitu Graeco militiam faciebant.* Mas'ūdī, to whom a reference is given, names الكوذكاة among the tribes of the Rūs; this, which is in the *Tanbīh*, is identified by M. Seippel with اللوذعانة mentioned by the same author in the *Murūj*. Both forms he regards as corrupt for الزرمانة meaning "Normans". It should be added that Mas'ūdī in the former passage says distinctly that the Rūs employed in the Byzantine army were Slavs. The editor of the *Tanbīh* thinks Gotland is meant, the editor of the *Murūj*, Lithuania; the Normans would seem to be a long way off in every sense.

A small portion of the material was collected and translated by Dozy in his *Recherches*, where the names of previous

students of this subject are recorded. Due acknowledgment should be made to M. Seippel's industry and accuracy; but it must be regretted that by the omissions noticed he has rendered his collection less useful to students than it might have been. D. S. M.

CRESCAS' CRITIQUE OF ARISTOTLE: PROBLEMS OF ARISTOTLE'S PHYSICS IN JEWISH AND ARABIC PHILOSOPHY. By HARRY AUSTRYN WOLFSON. 9½ × 6, pp. 759. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929.

The name of Crescas, otherwise Hasdai, a Jewish philosopher who flourished about A.D. 1400, is unknown to many encyclopædias, but is the subject of a brief and somewhat rhapsodical notice in the latest edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, where he is credited with having started a revolt from Aristotle, and having influenced the only Jewish philosopher of European importance, Spinoza. Of his treatise *Or Adonai*, "The Light of the Lord," wherein matter contained or thought to be contained in Aristotle's *Physica Auscultatio* is discussed, Dr. Wolfson has produced an edition for which "elaborate" would be an inadequate epithet; the German *musterhaft* would seem to describe it best. For it is difficult to think of any demand which even an importunate reader might make that is not amply satisfied. In a volume of about 770 pages little more than a quarter is devoted to text and translation; introduction, notes, and indices occupy the rest. The editor has taken pains in the introduction to give an intelligible account of the problems with which the text deals, and in the notes to trace the author's statements to their sources, whether Greek, Arabic, or Hebrew. His exhaustive indices render it easy to find anything, whether word, idea, or name, in the work.

The language employed by Crescas reminds one of the opinion expressed by Bleek, that the very worst monkish Latin was nearer the classical language than was the Hebrew of mediæval Jewish writers to the idiom of the Old Testament.

The style is so heavily charged with Arabic idioms and Arabic equivalents of Greek technicalities that one who was not familiar with Arabic would scarcely be able to understand it. Unlike many students of mediæval Jewish literature, Dr. Wolfson has acquired an adequate knowledge of Arabic and his translation is highly expert. It is indeed refreshing to peruse it by the side of the jargon of the original.

Without entering into the philosophical problems discussed, one who has had to do with the Arabic reproductions of Aristotle's treatises on poetry, rhetoric, and politics, cannot fail to be struck by the difference of the results. Dealing with material which was outside the range of their experience, the Arabic philosophers drift hopelessly; but time, space, and motion, which are the main topics of the Physics, were no less familiar to Arabic than to Greek writers; whence their treatment by the former, whatever may be its value to those who have been taught by Newton and his successors down to Einstein, is by no means contemptible, like Avicenna's classification of Greek poetical styles, or Alfarabi's theory of the forms of government. Dr. Wolfson has therefore done good service in rendering the work of Crescas generally accessible, while, as has been seen, the mode wherein he has discharged his editorial duties deserves warm eulogy.

D. S. M.

معجم المصنفين طبع فى ظل دولة السلطان ملك الدكن ١٣٤٤ سنة

Dictionary of Authors. Printed under the shadow of His Highness the Sultan, King of the Deccan. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7$, pp. 386 + 336 + 513. Parts I to IV. A.H. 1344. Printed in Beyrut. Rs. 3 for each part; Rs. 10 for set.

The preface of this work states that it was compiled by a number of Indian scholars; but in a letter of recommendation by "the chief of the Ulema in Meccah" they are reduced to one, Maḥmūd Ḥasan of Tonk, who evidently speaks in the first person in the Introduction. This occupies the whole of the first part, and contains an account of the author's plan,

which is to interpret and supplement Ḥajjī Khalīfah's work, translated by Flügel with the title *Lexicon encyclopædicum et bibliographicum*. This is followed by a series of chapters, of which the first is a classification of the disciplines, whence the writer proceeds to certain philosophical and historical themes, and then to a summary notice of each of the disciplines, about 162 in number. The dictionary itself commences with the second part, which is devoted to the biographies of the four Imams, or founders of law-schools. Parts III and IV contain biographies of authors whose names were *Ādam*, *Abān*, or *Ibrāhīm*, and as these together fill 513 pages, the scale of the work dwarfs even Ṣafadi's *Wāfī bilwafayāt*, which exceeds a score of volumes. The printing is admirable, the Arabic lucid and correct, and the industry of the author (or authors) colossal; and the price of each volume, three rupees, or 4*s*. 6*d*., extremely low. Even so, as the complete work can scarcely fall short of a hundred volumes, comparatively few students will find it suit their purses and their housing accommodation, so that it will not be a serious rival to Brockelmann's useful bibliography. D. S. M.

BUDDHIST SCULPTURES FROM A STUPA NEAR GOLI VILLAGE, GUNTUR DISTRICT. By T. N. RAMACHANDRAN. Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum. N.S., General Section, Vol. I, Part I, 11 × 8½, pp. 48, 12 plates. Madras: Government Press, 1929.

The present work is a description of the remains of a stūpa found in 1926 at the village of Goli, some 30 miles west of Amarāvatī. The most important parts preserved are three friezes, which must have been each about 12 feet long, but only one is complete. A large figure of a nāga could not be removed, as it is now worshipped by the villagers, and in the room which has been built round it have been fixed the fourth frieze and two slabs.

The friezes now in the Museum were excavated by Dr. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, and these, along with seven slabs have

been ably described by Mr. T. N. Ramachandran, who has made a careful comparison with the Amarāvatī and other sculptures. He comes to the conclusion that the Goli sculptures correspond with the fourth period of Amarāvatī, and that they belong to the third century A.D. But the slab with the empty seat and deer representing the first sermon, is evidently much earlier.

The identification of the scenes, which are incidents from Buddha's life and Jātakas, is generally convincing, but Mr. Ramachandran has been hampered by the fact that he has relied chiefly on translations of the Jātaka book. Four Jātakas are illustrated, two scenes from the *Chaddanta*, eight from the *Vessantara* on the friezes, and on two slabs the *Mātiposaka-jātaka* (455), or as the *Mahāvastu* calls it, the *Hastinikā-jātaka*, and the *Sasa-jātaka* (316). There is, however, no reason for connecting them with the Pāli form of the stories, and the author gets into difficulties when he compares the scenes of Buddha's life with the *Nidānakathā* of the *Jātaka*. Whatever the date of the *Jātaka*, the *Nidānakathā* was not in existence in the third century A.D. In the scene of the Bodhisattva receiving food after his austerities he says it is puzzling that there should be so many women besides Sujātā. This is because he tries to make it correspond with the *Nidānakathā*. He finds that there were two women in Rockhill's account, which he says was derived from such sources as the *Lalita-vistara*. But this was not a source of Rockhill, and if he had turned to the *Lalita-vistara* itself he would have found that there were ten village girls, of whom the last was Sujātā. It would then have been unnecessary to base his identification on what Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire said.

The most disputable identification is "Buddha's visit to Yaśodharā" on the first frieze. At one end Buddha is standing, and besides others there are three figures of a boy, whom he rightly identifies with Rāhula. One of them represents him looking up to Buddha and touching his robe. In

the middle he is apparently playing with a ball, and at the other end he stands looking up with clasped hands to his mother. Surely as clearly as anything this is the scene where Rāhula was sent by his mother to Buddha. Yet according to Mr. Ramachandran it is the private room of the mother of Rāhula, when Buddha came and sat on a seat, and she came and "clasped his ankles, placed her head at his feet, and did obeisance according to her wish." In the frieze she is dressed in a waist zone with armlets, bracelets, and anklets, and a fan held behind her, and looks much more like the Yaśodharā of Sanskrit accounts, who sent Rāhula to his father with a love-philtre, than the mother of Rāhula, who for long had worn yellow robes and had discarded ornaments.

There is one short inscription on the base of a slab with letters like those of the inscriptions of Jaggayyapeṭa, which Mr. Ramachandran reads *si-ka-ma-la-ta-(ya)*, and thinks it may mean "(gift of) the female lay follower Malatā". It is perhaps doubtful if a lady, except in derision, was ever called Malatā.

EDWARD J. THOMAS.

SHREE GOPAL BASU MALLIK LECTURES ON VEDĀNTA PHILOSOPHY. Delivered (December, 1925) by S. K. BELVALKAR. Part I, lectures 1–6. Under the auspices of the University of Calcutta. 9 × 6, pp. xvi + 240. Poona: Bilvakuñja Publishing House, 1929.

Dr. Belvalkar in the first instalment of his lectures on Vedānta philosophy has very properly understood his subject in a wide sense. It is rather the history of Vedāntic conceptions from their beginnings in cosmology down to Śankarācārya. As a history it is original and illuminating, with a due regard to the work of other scholars, but there are two points in it that call for attention. The first is the chronological analysis of the Upanishads, an undertaking

already begun in the second volume of the author's *History of Indian Philosophy*. That there are chronological differences among the older Upanishads has been recognized, but so far the analysis has been rudimentary. Yet it is clear that there are often separate portions of different dates within each Upanishad, and their composite nature can be inferred with much more certainty than in works like the Homeric poems. But if the Upanishads are to be taken to pieces, and the fragments rearranged according to the true development of the thought, this implies a knowledge of what the development was. The first rearrangement is not likely to be final, but the author has set a worthy problem for his fellow-investigators.

The second point is the use the author has made of his chronology. He divides the material into four groups (with subdivisions) and the fourth is dated 750–550 B.C. This is said to correspond with a period of "thought-ferment" from 750 to 500 B.C. But he has given no evidence for any such ferment in Upanishadic circles. What he does is to refer to the Jain and Buddhist reports of heretical teachers in a later century, and without any attempt to prove that the Brahmins of Brahmāvarta knew anything of the heretics of Magadha. Other assumptions are made—that this thought-ferment was so bad that there was "a common danger that appeared to shake the very foundations of the society", and that therefore the *Bhagavadgītā* was composed, "the last elaborate attempt made by the followers of the old Śrauta religion to defend orthodox Brahmanism against the disruptive forces that were gathering to a head in the century or so immediately preceding the rise of Buddhism."

This, it appears, involves the question of the unity of the poem, and the author deals clearly with the theories of Garbe, Oldenberg, and Hopkins. But how are the contradictions in the poem to be explained? For the author there are none. Apart from a few unimportant additions he claims that it is possible to give a synthetic and philosophically

consistent interpretation, "without sacrificing the plain intention of even a single one of the 700 stanzas of the Poem". This appears to miss the main point. Scores of bhāṣyakāras and commentators, he says, have maintained that a unitary and self-consistent teaching could be extracted. And now Dr. Belvalkar has extracted another. But it is not necessary to prove that the author of the poem was self-consistent before we can attribute the authorship to one man. In any case this has little to do with the question whether the poem was composed before the rise of Buddhism.

EDWARD J. THOMAS.

Indica

BY L. D. BARNETT

1. F. OTTO SCHRADER: THE KASHMIR RECENSION OF THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ. (Beiträge zur indischen Sprachwissenschaft und Religionsgeschichte. Herausg. v. J. W. HAUER. 3. Heft.) 9½ × 6¼, pp. 52. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1930.

Having observed that the quotations from the Gītā in Rāmakaṇṭha's *Sarvatōbhadra* and Abhinavagupta's *Bhagavadgītārthasaṃgraha* shew considerable divergences from the Vulgate text (V), Professor Schrader rightly concluded that there must have been a recension of the Gītā peculiar to Kashmir (K); and of this latter he found a nearly complete copy—the only one that exists, as far as is known—in the Śāradā birch-bark MS. Or. 6763d of the British Museum, acquired in 1907. On the basis of this material he has prepared and published in the present monograph a collation of all passages where K differs from V, with extracts from the above-mentioned commentaries, preceded by an introduction. This scholarly and fascinating study is of much importance for the criticism of the Gītā text. Apparently, as Dr. Schrader holds, K was the only recension of the Gītā known to scholars in Kashmir down to the end of the tenth century, and "must

have fallen into disuse there at about the time of the extinction of the Pratyabhijñā school, say in the fourteenth century". It is thus quite ancient, and the question arises whether it represents the *Urtext* more faithfully than V. Dr. Schrader answers in the affirmative. K has fourteen whole and four half-verses which V lacks; of these he considers that "not one . . . is unmistakably an interpolation, while in one or two cases even the opportunity for an interpolation seems to be missing", and "some at least . . . may have been in the original Gītā before the number of its stanzas was cut down to seven hundred". On the other hand, two verses of V (ii, 66–7) are not in K, and in Dr. Schrader's opinion were not in the original Gītā. There are in K a few readings which may be corruptions of V, still more which look like emendations, but there is also a "rather numerous class of readings which appear to be original readings of the Gītā preserved in K but corrupted in V". Dr. Schrader argues his case with great skill, and the problem is a very delicate one. In a few cases the variants of K are so superior to those of V that they may be regarded as original[1]; more often they seem to be either conjectural emendations or slight variations which might naturally arise in a rather carelessly guarded textual tradition. The verses peculiar to K may be genuine, or they may not: a decision is at present impossible. Thus we are led to the conclusion that K has preserved some genuine readings which V has lost, but that its tradition has been not a little warped by editorial emendations and possibly also by some interpolations. Whether in spite of these changes it is nearer to the original Gītā than V is still not clear: but we must be grateful to Dr. Schrader for the valuable materials which he has placed in our hands and the ability with which he has stated this important case.

[1] I venture to doubt whether we can include in this list K's reading *prājñavan nābhibhāṣase* for the well-known crux of ii, 11, for it seems to me like a conjecture to emend V's *prajñāvādāṃś ca bhāṣase*, which I believe can be satisfactorily explained.

2. CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF THE HINDU REVENUE SYSTEM. By U. N. GHOSHAL, M.A., Ph.D. 9¾ × 6¼, pp. xv + 313. Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1929.

Mr. Ghoshal divides his work into four parts, giving us successively a review of the beginnings in the Vedic age, a discussion of references to the revenue system in the *Dharma-sūtras*, *Dharma-śāstras*, and *Nīti-śāstras*, an account of its historical evolution in Northern India from c. 300 B.C. to A.D. 1200, and a concluding summary, with a glossary of fiscal terms and an index. His treatment is scholarly and judicious, and he has thrown much light on the obscure problems of ancient Indian revenue-administration.

On a number of minor points, indeed, there is room for differences of opinion. Mr. Ghoshal is perhaps a trifle too ready to read the *Kāuṭalīya* as a document of Mauryan administration. I venture, moreover, to doubt his explanation of the term *uparikara* (p. 191, etc.), and incline rather audaciously to see in it the same thing as the Tamil *mēl-vāram*, i.e. the Crown's share of produce (*mēl* = *upari*); nor am I convinced by his interpretation of *udraṅga* and *sītā*. His rendering of *sētu* as "gardens and fields owned by the king" (p. 108) seems unlikely; may not *sētu* rather be a sort of water-rate levied in payment for the use of reservoirs (cf. *Kāuṭ*. ii, 24)? The old problem of the term *bhūmi-cchidra-nyāya*, I suspect, may be solved more satisfactorily by comparing Yādavaprakāśa's definition of *bhūmi-cchidra* as *kṛṣyayōgyā bhūḥ*, "land unfit for tillage", with the section of the *Kāuṭalīya* entitled *bhūmi-cchidra-vidhāna* (ii, 2), which treats of the king's conversion of forests and wildernesses into grazing grounds, retreats for Brahmans, royal parks, and the like; hence *bhūmi-cchidra-nyāya* would naturally mean "the same condition as that under which tenants hold land in wildernesses, forests, etc.", i.e. *precario*, with reservation of the king's right to eject them at his will. Further, while Mr. Ghoshal is right in maintaining that many of the Hindu fiscal arrangements lived on under Muslim rule, he

is hardly right in describing as "risky" Mr. Moreland's conclusion "that the Moslem conquest brought with it a fusion of the indigenous system with the nearly identical system of the conquerors" (p. 287), for, to take only one example, the Hindu system has no trace of the *manṣab*.[1] On the other hand, I heartily agree on essentials with him. It is particularly pleasing to see that he has wholeheartedly accepted the view that in ancient India the Crown owned the land, which I have taught my students for many years past, and which has recently been ably confirmed by Dr. Breloer. In this connection I would correct an ancient blunder which has trailed its length through many books and still lingers in Mr. Ghoshal's pages (p. 167 f.), to wit, the mistranslation of Strabo xv, 40 (quoted from Megasthenes), which Mr. Ghoshal, repeating the version of Mr. Monahan, presents thus (p. 167): "The whole of the land is the property of the king and the husbandmen till it on condition of receiving one fourth of the produce." This last clause is absolutely wrong. Strabo writes: *μισθοῦ δ' αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τετάρταις ἐργάζονται τῶν καρπῶν*, "they till it on condition of paying one-fourth of the produce as rent." The preposition *ἐπί* is used to denote condition, price, or interest, as in *ἐπὶ δραχμῇ δανείζεσθαι*, which means "to borrow money on condition of paying one drachma (on every *mna* monthly, i.e. 12 per cent)". Strabo is thus in exact agreement with Diodorus,[2] and the conclusions which Mr. Ghoshal has based on the mistranslation fall to the ground.

[1] It may be added that the term *kalyāṇadhana* (pp. 245 f., 261, etc.) may on the analogy of Southern inscriptions be explained as denoting the marriage-tax. The translation of *kṣāra* as "sugar" (p. 90) also seems to be an error, while "*quid pro quid*" (p. 138) is very unhappy, and "Chālukya" (p. 257 f.) is a mistake for "Chaulukya".

[2] Diodorus is also misunderstood by Messrs. Monahan and Ghoshal; the true meaning of his statement is very skilfully explained by Dr. Breloer in his *Grundeigentum in Indien*, a work which throws some valuable light on the subject.

3. SOME ASPECTS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITY. (The Manindra Chandra Nandy Lectures, 1925.) By D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A, Ph.D. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, pp. i + 224. Calcutta printed, Benares Hindu University, 1929.

In his first lecture the author sets himself to show the existence of the science of polity as an independent study in India with a literature going back to at least 650 B.C., and with the fourfold object of teaching the methods for gaining a kingdom, preserving it, developing its resources, and bestowing its surplus wealth on deserving persons (*tīrthas*)[1]; and he surveys the literature of polity, claiming that the *Kāuṭalīya* was well known from 200 B.C. onwards to the fifteenth century. The theme of the second lecture is the age of the *Kāuṭalīya*; arguments are marshalled to confute those scholars who would assign it to a post-Mauryan date and to prove that it belongs to the age of Candragupta, of which the former seem to me to be more telling than the latter, for we have singularly little knowledge of social life in the first centuries of our era, apart from Vātsyāyana, and there is not much cogency in most of the quotations of verses and dicta, which may well be traditional and tralaticious. The third lecture treats of the Hindu conception of the State, which is analysed into its seven elements, and is compared with Western theories. In the fourth lecture are discussed the various types of State known to the ancient Hindus, comprising (*a*) monarchy (subdivided into the rule of feudatory, overlord, and universal monarch), dyarchy, and *kula-saṅgha* or kingship spread over a royal family,[2]

[1] The attempt on p. 195 ff. to connect this word *tīrtha* with the technical *tīrthaṃkara* and *titthiya*, and thus specifically to make the patronage of *sectarian* leaders a prime object of polity, seems to me needless and unconvincing. It is best to leave the word indefinite; different statesmen interpreted it differently.

[2] The correctness of this interpretation of *kula-saṅgha* in *Kauṭ.* (p. 100) may be doubted: the author on p. 103 admits that in *Aṅguttara-n.* the same word refers to clan-government.

(b) political *sanghas* of Kṣatriyas, such as the *Gaṇa-saṅghas*, exemplified by the Licchavis, etc., (c) civic democracies, *naigamas*, and (d) country democracies, *janapadas*. The author has "no doubt" that the rules of procedure of the Buddhist Saṅgha "were those which were already in vogue with the institutions of a democratic type, whether political, municipal, or commercial" (pp. 124 f.); I feel less certainty. In the fifth lecture are considered the various Hindu theories on the origin of the State and position of the Sovereign, which are analysed and compared with those of Europe [1]; and the sixth deals with the nature and end of the Hindu State, examining the function of the Crown in the creation of order and development of economic and cultural welfare and arguing that Kauṭalya's conception of the social order is Vedic in character, but earlier than that of Manu. From this cursory outline it will be seen that Dr. Bhandarkar handles themes of importance; and it may be added that he deals with them ably. If some of his arguments do not seem to carry conviction, it must be admitted that he writes with skill and erudition.

A few points of detailed criticism may be appended. The author repeatedly writes "deserved" for "deserving"; why? The argumentation on pp. 65 f. seems to me to be obscure and not always sound. On p. 67, l. 17, and p. 69, l. 5, *śakyasāmanta* is wrongly translated. p. 97 suggests the query: does the author mean that there ever were any real *cakravartins* who conquered the whole of India? The question on pp. 99, ll. 2–3, is unintelligible to me, and the arguments on p. 113, ll. 2–9, and p. 115, l. 13, seem to be based on a misunderstanding of Pāṇini. On p. 117 the meaning of "tribal oligarchy" assigned to *pūga* is very doubtful. And *theothropos* on p. 162 clamours for correction.

[1] Professor Bhandarkar's discussion of the "paternal view of kingship" on p. 164 ff., though good in itself, is quite irrelevant in this lecture, as this view implies no theory of the origin of kingship.

4. **Handbuch des Sanskrit mit Texten und Glossar.** Von A. Thumb. 1 Teil: Grammatik. Zweite Auflage . . . . verbessert und mit Nachtragen versehen von Hermann Hirt. $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xx+538. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1930.

Thumb's *Handbuch*, as Dr. Hirt remarks in his foreword, may be said to have two souls, as it not only sets forth the rules of Sanskrit grammar, but also presents them in the light of Indo-European comparative philology; and the notable skill with which the author has fulfilled this twofold task has been rewarded by the appreciation of students, which has necessitated the preparation of this new edition. Dr. Hirt, who stands in the foremost rank of comparative philologists, and has made a special study of early Indo-Aryan from the comparative standpoint, is peculiarly well qualified to bring the book up to date, and he has discharged his duty with vigour and success, completely re-writing some parts and supplementing or correcting others by appendices. In this case the adage *le mieux est l'ennemi du bien* does not hold good. The volume is not only an excellent grammar of Sanskrit, but likewise a storehouse of interesting data and theories of comparative philology, many of them indeed debatable, but all of them fruits of ripe modern scholarship.

A few points, however, still remain open to improvement, chiefly in the surveys of Indian literary and political history. Thus it seems to us that, with all respect to the great Bopp, it is doing him more than justice to style him the " Begründer " of comparative philology, which may be said to begin with Father Cœurdoux about 1767, and was first placed on a sound basis by Jones. The name of Alexander's great adversary was probably not *Paura*, as is stated on p. 15, but *Paurava* ; the Greeks can hardly be said ever to have gained " festen Fuss " in India (ib.); and the statement about " die neue Blüte " of literature under Vikramâditya of Ujjayinī in the sixth century (ib.) is little more than a fairy tale, embodying vague memories of Candragupta II. The Brāhmaṇas,

according to orthodoxy, belong not to *smṛti* (p. 23) but to *śruti*. Inaccuracies of this kind, however, which concern the framework rather than the essential matter of the book, weigh almost nothing in the scale against its solid merits.

5. THE KĪCAKA-VADHA OF NĪTIVARMAN, WITH THE COMMENTARY OF JANĀRDANASENA. Edited, with an introduction, notes, and extracts from the Commentary of Sarvanandanaga by SUSHIL KUMAR DE, M.A., D.Litt. (Dacca University Oriental Publications Series, No. 1.) $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, pp. i + i + xxvii + 128 + i, 5 plates. Dacca: The University of Dacca; Allahabad printed, 1929.

The *Kīcaka-vadha* is a poem which won widespread admiration among the Pandits by its skilful manipulation of double meanings and verbal jingles, for it is often quoted in grammars, lexica, and works on *alaṃkāra*; the author seems to have lived in the ninth or tenth century, apparently in Kaliṅga or thereabouts. It is quite brief, comprising only five cantos, or 177 verses in all, narrating (with some variations from the epic version) the story of Kīcaka's attempted outrage on Draupadī, his death at the hands of Bhīma, Duryōdhana's raid upon Virāṭa's herds, and his defeat in battle by the Pāṇḍavas. Dr. De justly sums up Nītivarman's merits by saying that " he is not a great poet in the proper acceptation of the term, nor even a mediocre poet, but his pretensions are in other directions. His theme is slender, and no attention is paid to its really poetic possibilities; but these defects are made good by the luxuriance of verbal embellishment and by the skill displayed in the use of double meanings and clever chiming. By this alone our author claims merit, and his work is one of the earliest authoritative examples of its kind ". It is therefore a welcome accession to the published stock of Sanskrit literature. Dr. De's edition of the text and of the useful and happily not too erudite commentary of Janārdana Sēna, together with his critical and exegetic notes, is marked by the thorough mastery of the technique of poetry

and *alaṃkāra* which characterise all his publications; and although a few misprints occur, they appear to be practically covered by the list of errata.

6. THE ORIGIN OF SAIVISM AND ITS HISTORY IN THE TAMIL LAND. By K. R. SUBRAMANIAN, M.A. (Supplement to the Madras University Journal.) $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. iv + 82. Madras: Diocesan Press, 1929.

This is a somewhat cursory survey of the elements which are comprised in the Śaiva religion of the Tamils. It begins with the Nāgas and the snake-cult represented by them, matriarchy with the *śakti*-cult, patriarchy with the *liṅga*-worship, and finally the cult of Śiva, originally a Northern deity of destructive nature, and thence proceeds in a somewhat disjointed fashion to the Śaṅgam literature, Buddhist and Jainism in ancient times, the temples of the Tamil country, and the history of the development of Śaivism, etc. The author has read widely and makes some interesting points, but it cannot be said that he is consistently critical or that he presents a very clear picture of the growth of Śaivism and germane subjects treated by him.

7. KARNATAKA KAVI CHARITE. Volume III (Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries). By RAO BAHADUR R. NARASIMHACHAR, M.A., M.R.A.S. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. lix + xcii + xxiii + 505, pl. i. Bangalore: Sri Lakshminarasimha Press, 1929.

With this volume the labour of nearly thirty-five years is concluded and a service of the highest value to Kannada literature reaches a happy consummation. In it are noticed 215 modern authors, as well as 352 earlier writers. True, few of these latterday votaries of the Muse are of striking merit, and not few of them are obscure and insignificant; but some have been notable figures in their generation, and all of them have laboured according to their ability to keep alight the lamp of their literature either by following the ancient paths or by adapting it to the new claims of modern life. The notices

begin with Appayya, c. 1705, and end with living authors, while a large mass of further information is added in appendices 1, 2, 4, 5, and 7, and in the introductions the author effectively replies to most of the criticisms of his previous volumes in Dr. Venkatasubbayya's *Keḷavu Kannaḍa-kavigaḷa Jīvana-kāla-vicāra*. The total number of authors who are noticed in the three volumes is no less than 1,048, a figure which bears striking testimony to the love of literature which has characterised Kannadigas from ancient times to the present day. We offer our congratulations to the Rao Bahadur on this happy completion of a masterwork in which neither the advance of years nor ill-health has lessened the skill of his craftsmanship, and which will be an enduring monument to the literary glories of his native land.

FOREIGN BIOGRAPHIES OF SHIVAJI. By SURENDRA NATH SEN. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. lvii + 492. Calcutta: Book Company; London: Kegan Paul & Co.

The literature connected with Shivaji is rapidly increasing, and this is the fourth of the series inaugurated as a Memorial of the Tercentenary of his birth. Dr. Sen has already written valuable books on the military and administrative systems of the Marathas and is well qualified to annotate the extracts contained in this volume from the accounts of episodes of Shivaji's career given by foreign writers. As such, the book constitutes a useful supplement to the source book of Maratha history which is in course of publication under the auspices of the Government of Bombay. The longest and the most interesting, though not the most historically reliable, item is the translation of Cosme da Guarda's *Life of the famous and fortunate Sevagy*. This work, written only fifteen years after Shivaji's death by a Portuguese or Goanese inhabitant of Portuguese India, contains much unhistorical matter such as the suggestion that Shivaji was born at Bassein and was of Portuguese descent, but it includes some information not

to be found elsewhere, as, for instance, the account of a naval engagement between the Portuguese and the Marathas. Its testimony to Shivaji's well-ordered administration and personal sense of justice is the more valuable as coming from a member of a community which had more reason to fear than to admire Shivaji. Of the French sources, we may perhaps be inclined to agree with Orme that Carré is too erroneous and too confused to be worth dependence, though Dr. Sen is willing to allow him more merit. The most interesting of the French extracts is the report from François Martin, the famous founder of Pondicherry, which throws fresh light on Shivaji's Karnatak expedition and helps to prove that it was intended as a permanent conquest and not as a mere plundering raid. Incidentally it shows what a plucky fight Sher Khan Lodi put up on behalf of the Musalman rulers against the invaders. The most reliable of the foreign accounts is that of the Dutchman Francis Valentine; but that is not contemporaneous and is largely based on well-known authorities such as Fryer. The selections from the English records are not important, but they are interesting as showing the pertinacity of the English Company in advancing exaggerated claims for the losses received at the hands of the Marathas at the sacking of Rajapur, and the good-humoured manner in which Shivaji avoided the settlement of these claims. The truth was that the Marathas and the English alike recognized the value of their intercourse. Dr. Sen seems rather querulous in his attitude towards his distinguished fellow-Bengáli historian, Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar. He disagrees with the latter's acceptance of the English statements, made by various persons, of Shivaji's cruelty at Surat, on the ground that these statements were based on the evidence of Mr. Anthony Smith, who afterwards proved to be an undesirable character. But Anthony Smith was himself a prisoner and claimed to be an eye-witness of the cruelty, which was neither excessive in quantity nor in degree according to the ideas of the time: and there seems no reason

why he should have invented the incident. Dr. Sen also points out the incorrectness of Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar's translations from the French, and certainly the mistakes are bad. In one of the passages given, however, Dr. Sen himself seems to make a considerable error, and the translations from the French narratives for which Dr. Sen seems to be responsible generally read poorly, even if they are accurate. His style in English does not indeed lead to easy reading: but the book contains much painstaking work, and will be of value to students of the period.

AFGHANISTAN. By SIR GEORGE MACMUNN. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xii + 359. Bell. 21*s*.

The position of Afghanistan in relation to the Indian Empire is of such continuing importance that a study of its history and conditions from so well-informed a pen as that of Sir George MacMunn must have great and permanent value. Sir George lays stress on its ancient connection and union with India, and reminds us that Hindu kings once held dominion over Kabul, long before the Moguls treated it as one of the Provinces of India. The peoples of Afghanistan moreover spread over India and carved out kingdoms for themselves from Peshawar to the Bay of Bengal, and very nearly to Cape Comorin, though the ruling dynasties were not perhaps so generally Afghan in their origin as might be supposed from the author's account. While, however, Sir George quite legitimately stresses the close connection between India and Afghanistan, Mr. Nariman in his introduction to *Through Amanullah's Afghanistan* points out with equal justification the even more ancient and continuous relations between Persia and Afghanistan: and he is certainly more correct in his statement that Pashtu is nearer to ancient Persian than modern Persian is, than Sir George MacMunn is in his assertion that Pashtu is derived chiefly from Sanskrit. The truth is that Afghanistan, much of which was included in the ill-defined area of Khurasan, has always been largely

Iranian in character, and was always distinct in essentials from India, however close the political connection. The closeness of that connection was, however, one of the reasons for the forward policy of Lord Auckland and his advisers which Sir George shows to have had much more justification than is generally allowed. It is well that the reasons for that policy should be so authoritatively stated from the British side, though it is shown clearly enough that the policy failed entirely, partly through insufficient allowance for economic conditions and partly through the choice of poor instruments. As might be expected, Sir George's account of the three Afghan wars is clear and sufficient, though it is perhaps strange to find a full decription of the First War with no mention of the gallant, if impossible, Skelton. In view of the absurd pretensions advanced in Afghanistan in respect to the Third War, the so-called War of Independence, Sir George's account of the poor showing of the Afghan army is valuable. The "humiliating arrangement" by which it was terminated may have been justified by the war-weariness of the British Empire, but it has had unfortunate consequences in India and in Afghanistan itself.

It may be permissible to point out small errors in so excellent a production. The population of the Panjab is twice stated to be forty millions instead of twenty. The names "McCaskil" and "Clerk" are given as "McGaskil" and "Clerke". The 42nd (Queen's) Regiment did not serve in Afghanistan. These are small mistakes indeed in such a mass of facts which are set out for the reader with the humour which we expect from the author.

THROUGH AMANULLAH'S AFGHANISTAN. By SORAB KATRAK. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xxxiv + 145. Karachi: *Sind Observer*; London: Luzac. 10*s*. 6*d*.

This is an interesting account from the pen of a young Parsi merchant of Karachi of two journeys in Afghanistan

just before the downfall of Amanullah. It contains an introduction by Mr. G. K. Nariman, a well-known Parsi journalist of Bombay, who has himself visited Afghanistan. The latter's desire to exalt Amanullah's achievements and the strong points of Islamic culture, lead to some remarkable statements such as "while primitive Christianity hardly limits the number of man's legitimate wives, Islam fixes them at four. The monogamy of the modern West rests on no scriptures". The account of the Third Afghan War with its suggestion that the British first invaded Afghan territory and that "the Anglo-Indian Army was accounted vanquished" is distinctly disingenuous and should be compared with what Sir George MacMunn says of that "impudent and fatuous venture". Mr. Katrak's own account is very pleasantly written, and, though he himself was impressed with the apparent progress made under Amanullah's rule, he shows clearly enough how thinly the veneer of a cheap and gaudy Westernization lay over the real savagery and the still more real poverty of the country. Although the downfall of Amanullah came as a blow to those who desired to use him as an example of the fitness of Orientals to rule on Western lines, it is clear enough that his policy was dangerous to India as well as to his own country. Considering the importance of the Afghan trade to Karachi, some description of the commercial possibilities would have been useful; but the author is to be commended for his brightly written narrative.

P. R. CADELL.

EUROPEAN ADVENTURERS OF NORTHERN INDIA, 1785–1849. By C. GREY and H. L. O. GARRETT. 12 × 7½, pp. 361 + xlviii. Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, Punjab, 1929. Obtainable (price 16s. 6d.) from the Office of the High Commissioner for India, India House, Aldwych, London, W.C. 2.

In the modern history of India there are few more fascinating quests than the investigation of the careers of the European

Adventurers in the Punjab of pre-annexation times. Sir Henry Lawrence, who could speak with personal knowledge, experienced the attraction of the theme, and blended fact with fiction in his *Adventurer in the Punjab*. In more recent times Major Hugh Pearse has introduced to us one of the most flamboyant of this class in his *Alexander Gardiner, Traveller and Soldier*, published in 1898; and the career of the ferocious Avitabile has been laid bare to the world by the late Mr. J. J. Cotton in one of his most charming studies. The names of the more prominent or successful of the adventurers—Thomas, Allard, Ventura, Avitabile, Masson, Harlan, Gardiner—are well enough known, but except in the short appendix to Major Pearse's book there has not up to date been any publication which dealt comprehensively with the information available regarding these and other examples of the "Adventurer" class. This want has now been very successfully supplied by the book under review.

The time for drawing at first hand on personal reminiscences has now passed away; it may be said to have expired with the death, some twenty years ago, of the venerable and much-beloved Faqīr Sayad Qamruddīn of Lahore. But a good deal of oral tradition survives, and finds its way into the present publication through one of its authors, Mr. C. Grey, an old inhabitant of Lahore, who has long taken an interest in the subject. Some of the adventurers, such as Honigberger, Harlan, and Gardiner, left records of their own experiences, and in respect of most of them there are scattered references in the innumerable biographies, memoirs, diaries, and histories dealing with their period. All those sources of information have been diligently explored by the authors of the volume now under review, and there is probably little or nothing of value which they have not incorporated in their work. They have also had at their disposal new and valuable sources for research in the admirable reprint of Punjab Records carried out by the late Mr. F. Raynor in 1911; in the Sikh pay rolls

investigated by Mr. Sitâ Râm Kohlī; and in the other numerous records, English and vernacular, which are in the possession of the Punjab Government. Mr. H. L. O. Garrett himself, one of the authors of this book, has, in his capacity of Keeper of the Punjab Government Records, been responsible for the preservation of these sources of information. Under his enthusiastic guidance, the old Government Records have been rescued from oblivion and set out and arranged and made available for students in the appropriate atmosphere of the Tomb of Anârkalī. From these sources he has unearthed a great deal of useful information supplementary to that already available, and the result is a book which cannot fail to attract the attention both of the historical student and of the general reader. It is a comprehensive work dealing with some seventy different characters, and supplying the information available regarding each in a manner which should render it for the future the standard work on the subject. At the same time, without making any undue sacrifice of academic accuracy, the authors have avoided the pitfalls of pedantry and their work exhibits a popular diction of a spirited and almost breezy character. They have produced a book which will give pleasure to a large circle of readers.

E. D. M.

Mughal Land Revenue System. By Lanka Sundaram. 7¼ × 5, pp. iii + 103 + v. Woking: The Basheer Muslim Library. Price 3s.

In this pamphlet, reprinted from the *Journal of the Bangalore Mythic Society*, Mr. Sundaram makes a gallant attempt to elucidate an obscure subject. His equipment is, however, inadequate. He has not gone to the sources, but relies on translations and secondary works, some of which are long out of date; while he more than once deplores the inaccessibility of books which he would like to have seen. His account of Akbar's system is in effect "potted" Gladwin, and, while Gladwin was a worthy pioneer, he is not a trustworthy guide.

The pamphlet cannot, therefore, be regarded as a valuable contribution to knowledge, while the writer's general history is not immaculate: Abul Fazl was never "the famous vizier of Akbar" (p. 1): Todar Mal never "served under Feroz Shah" (p. 32); Sher Shah reigned for five years, not "for nearly a decade and a half" (p. 19).

W. H. M.

BASAVA-RĀJA-DĒVARA-RAGAḶĔ. By HARI-HARA, edited by T. S. VENKANNAIYYA, M.A., Professor of Kanarese, the Maharaja's College, Mysore. pp. 106. Printed at Wesleyan Mission Press, Mysore, 1930. Price Rs. 2.

This book is a welcome addition to the history of Kanarese literature, and it is based upon the palm-leaf original. In the history of the rise of Hindu creeds, Basava, the founder of Vīra-Saivism (sometimes known as the Jaṅgama Sect) occupies a prominent place. Nevertheless, his life and achievements are still a matter for controversy. In the absence of any historical records, the followers and admirers of Basava have had to rely on the various *purāṇas* which have sprung up around his name, and it is precisely in the valuation of those that the importance of Hari-Hara's *Basava Rāja Dēvara Ragaḷĕ* is seen. Although this book does not enlighten us on many questions concerning the life and success of the expounder of Vīra-Śaivism, it is a substantial contribution to the account we already have of him. Professor Venkannaiyya has brought to light many new facts about the life of Basava hitherto not mentioned in the various Basava Purāṇās. Further, in this work greater attention is paid to historical accuracy than to legendric superfluities, and as such it is of substantial value to students of literature and history. Hari-Hara was essentially a "Poet of the People", and the fluency of his thought and diction places him in the front rank of the Kanarese poets. The introduction to the book, though ably written by Professor Venkannayya, is inclined to be rather pedantic.

C. S. K. PATHY.

The Commercial Policy of the Moguls. By D. Pant, B.Com., Ph.D., University of Lucknow. 10 × 7, pp. 3 + 281. Bombay: D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co. *Rs.* 6.

This book is a thesis approved for the degree of Ph.D. conferred upon the author by Trinity College, Dublin. Its title gives but a scanty indication of its contents, for, as Lord Meston in his Foreword has said, the book might with equal justice have been entitled "How the Moguls had no Commercial Policy," and this is a subject which could have been disposed of in a few pages. The writer has in fact undertaken a wider task, namely the history of commerce under the Moguls, but even this subject occupies some 30 or 40 pages only out of his 276 pages, and the rest of his book is taken up with a series of historical pictures illustrating the atmosphere in which the commerce of Mogul times had to struggle for its existence. These pictures are set forth in a discursive mood, and have often little enough to do with the subject in hand, but they are written with obvious gusto and, illustrated as they are by numerous quotations from travellers and other writers, they will afford to those who approach the subject for the first time a vivid impression of the days of the great Mogul sovereigns. In those portions of the book which deal more directly with trade and commerce, the quotation of authorities is somewhat indiscriminate, and one is not inspired with the confidence necessary to enable one to accept all the conclusions, some of them of a controversial character, which the author gives us without detailed reference to authority. The writer, however, is obviously interested in the question of the commerce of his period, and he appears to have the qualifications to write an excellent account of it which could be confined to the subject at issue, and supplied with scholarly documentation of the conclusions reached. If these are not the characteristic features of his present treatise, their absence is atoned for by a pleasant spice of enthusiasm and research which one is glad to see devoted to subjects of this important character.

Anon.

THE POST-CAITANYA SAHAJIA CULT OF BENGAL. By MANINDRA MOHAN BOSE. 10 × 6½, pp. xviii + 322, Calcutta: University of Calcutta. 1930.

The natural religion of man, says Mr. Bose, is based on an ideal of universal brotherhood, and the ideal is to be effected "through the personal realisation of love which is the cement of union". What he gives, however, is the study of a sect found all over Bengal, which is devoted to the practice of sexualism as the expression of religion. There is, we are told, a vast literature mostly in manuscript, and the author has become intimate with some of the gurus, so that he is able to tell much which not only explains the obloquy to which such sects are liable even in India, but makes it easier to get to the actual facts, though even he has to resort to asterisks. From this point of view his account is most valuable in clearing up the deliberate ambiguity of certain texts. There are certain psychological and probably physiological states to be explained. Unfortunately he has gone further, and tried to give a history of sex worship from the earliest times. This is based on second-hand and misunderstood sources, and even when he deals with its history in India he shows a lack of knowledge of the essential literature and also of grammar. He finds the ideal of Parakīyā (a term unnecessary to explain here) in the Ṛgveda and Upanishads, and also in the Buddhist *Kathāvatthu*. Yet in the latter, although he refers to Mrs. Rhys Davids' translation, he translates *methunaṃ dhammaṃ paṭisevanti* as "(they) enter upon sexual relations for the sake of dhamma", showing that he has no idea of the meaning of *methunaṃ dhammaṃ*, and that he thinks that *dhammaṃ* in the accusative can mean "for the sake of dhamma". Yet when he comes to the real Buddhist Sahajīya sect, he appears to know nothing of our chief source of information, the *Subhāṣitasaṃgraha*, nor of Dr. Shahidullah's important work.

Chapter IV is on the higher aspect of the doctrine, and ends with a comparative study of this doctrine with the

Positivism and Humanism of modern Europe. Nevertheless, when he is speaking of what he knows, his account gives the impression of candour and of a real knowledge of the practices of this sect.

EDWARD J. THOMAS.

THE NATURE OF CONSCIOUSNESS. By E. R. ROST, Lieut.-Col., etc. 9 × 6, pp. 160. London: Williams & Norgate, Ltd., 1930.

THE BUDDHA'S GOLDEN PATH. A manual of practical Buddhism based on the teachings and practices of the Zen sect, but interpreted and adapted to meet modern conditions. By DWIGHT GODDARD. 7½ × 5, pp. xii + 210. London: Luzac & Co., 1930.

THE LOTUS OF THE WONDERFUL LAW, or the Lotus Gospel, Saddharma Puṇḍarīka Sūtra, Miao-fa lien hua ching. By W. E. SOOTHILL. 9 × 6, pp. xii + 276. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1930.

SĀṂKHYA AND MODERN THOUGHT. By J. GHOSH. 8½ × 6, pp. iv + 142. The Book Company, Ltd., Calcutta. [1930.]

All these works are devoted to religion and philosophy, and are only indirectly connected with philological questions. The nature of consciousness on the late Colonel Rost's theory is not the ancient Indian view that it is a little Man somewhere inside; nor is he troubled by the modern problem why certain cerebral vibrations should be accompanied by just what we call consciousness. For Colonel Rost the vibrations themselves are the consciousness, or, as he prefers to put it, consciousness is a functioning force of the nature of an etheric vibration. We are given a scale of vibrations of the ether from the longest up to the gamma-rays, followed by six still higher rates, which are consciousness, for "logically, consciousness must necessarily be the quickest form of energy in existence". Nor is he troubled with the rise of "awareness", because for him consciousness "includes the whole process leading up to

awareness". After a very rapid survey of the last hundred million years of the progress of evolution, and a chapter on the cytoarchitectonics of the human cerebral cortex, the author gives his views on Buddhist psychology drawn chiefly from the *Dhammasangaṇi*. These we need not discuss, in fact, we are scarcely allowed to, for he tells us that one cannot improve on the *Dhammasangaṇi*, and that it is "in the same state of PURITY as when expounded by the Buddha".

Mr. Goddard's book also deals with practical Buddhism, but from a Mahāyāna point of view. He was once an American missionary, but became a Buddhist, and his book may appeal to those in search of a belief, provided it is not belief in a soul, for he tells us that in Gautama's mind there was nothing like a self-conscious soul, nor is Buddhism primarily a religion or a philosophy. It is simply a rational and practical way of life. The author spent eight months in Kyoto, and became intimately acquainted with the inner life of Buddhism as revealed in its monasteries and temples. Without any pretension to scholarship it gives a picture resting on personal experience of the life and mystic practices of the Zen monks.

Professor Soothill has produced an interesting edition of the *Lotus* as represented by one of the Chinese versions, and for those who are merely curious to know what it is about there is an advantage in having the narrative linked by summaries and in the omission of repetitions. But no attempt has been made to utilize it for elucidating the original text. In fact, he thinks that the Chinese may be more a paraphrase than a literal translation, but that "in the absence of the original text it is difficult to speak with assurance". Does this mean that he is unaware that the Sanskrit text has been published?

His introduction declares that in Mahāyāna salvation is not attained by laborious effort, but simply by faith in the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas; yet he is aware that in this system all beings are to become Bodhisattvas and Buddhas. Is there no effort in that? The Hinayanist is described as "the believer in the salvation of the few by works". But

what Hinayanist spoke of the few and of works? It is not clear why he should say that the Vulture Peak is in Nepal, when the text says it is at Rājagṛha. Amitābha does appear under this name in the sūtra, though not (p. 45) as a Bodhisattva. There is a glossary, but why is *araṇya* "hermitage", and *īśvara* "sovereign (in his own right)", and *dhuta* "discipline"?

Principal Ghosh's book has also a practical purpose. He wished to produce something for India, and show that old ideals and outlooks are not necessarily obsolete. He has, therefore, taken the Sāṃkhya in its classical form and based his exposition on the Sāṃkhya Kārikās and the Sūtras with their native commentaries. There is no discussion of the problems of its development and its different forms, which have so much exercised Western scholars, but an admirably clear and persuasive account of the chief principles. Not the least remarkable feature of the book is the author's mastery of a beautiful literary style, which seems to be part of his mastery of the subject.

E. J. THOMAS.

THE KACHIN TRIBES OF BURMA. By W. J. S. CARRAPIETT. 9¾ × 6, pp. viii + 119. Rangoon: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1929. Price Rs. 3, or 4s. 6d.

Mr. Carrapiett, as a member of the Frontier Service endowed with an exceptional capacity for acquiring languages, had unusual opportunities for recording in detail the customs of the Kachins, and made good use of them. His book is very interesting. There must surely be few communities in which individuals are allowed so little free choice in their actions; not because of the interference of others, but because at every step the omens have to be consulted. The amount of time devoted to ritual suggests what is the fact: that the men lead an idle life, nearly all the work being done for them by women or slaves. They show to an unusual degree the characteristics of a primitive race of fighters: truthfulness

and treachery, hospitality and an appetite for revenge. A story is told of a boy of ten whose hair was pulled by his uncle. Fifteen years later he hired a man to seek the uncle's hospitality (which by Kachin custom could not be refused) and murder him.

Those who hold the magical theory of primitive art will be pleased to read of the drawings which decorate the porches: bees to bring prosperity, a woman's breasts for children, elephant-tusks for wealth. Several customs have a humorous aspect. A creditor takes his relations with him to live in the house of the debtor, who will probably find it cheaper to pay his debt. When a man-eating tiger is killed, a stone is put in his mouth while the village priest eats a boiled egg, by way of warning other man-eaters that a tiger (the egg) is easier to overcome than man (the stone). The use of a bamboo knife for cutting the navel-string and of a bamboo spear and wooden sword at animal sacrifices are clearly survivals from an age, perhaps not so far distant, when metal implements were unknown.

The custom by which a Kachin maiden chooses her husband through a process of trial and error is well known. Less well known are the facts that the choice is followed by an elaborate marriage-ceremony (conspicuous by its absence among the Burmese) and that there is an alternative form of marriage, presumably considered more respectable, to a family; the bride, if there is more than one daughter, being selected by divination. It would be interesting to know which form is commoner.

The book contains a chapter of useful warnings for officials, and numerous and doubtless excellent photographs, badly reproduced by the Government Press, which has not improved in this respect during the last thirty years. It is a work of reference, and its usefulness would be greatly enhanced by an index and a glossary.

R. Grant Brown.

Das Buch Genesis. Ubersetzt and Erklärt von Dr. Paul Heinisch. 1 bis 3 tausand. 10 × 7, pp. xii + 436. Bonn, Peter Hanstein, 1930. Price Mks. 17.50.

Here we have at last a bold and comprehensive undertaking from the conservative point of view to vindicate the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch. The author is fully acquainted with the entire development of biblical exegesis. He investigates step by step all the questions and problems which have hitherto been advanced by a higher biblical criticism. With a keen insight and complete mastery of the subject, he subjects each of these problems to a searching investigation, and he is able to refute them one after another in a clear and dispassionate way. He represents the catholic point of view, though circumscribed by the decision of the Papal Bible Commission of 1906, he is still allowed a great latitude in the study of the Pentateuch, its origin, and its antiquity.

In the introduction from pages 1 to 90, he passes in review all the points which have been suggested as showing differences of authorship, especially by that biblical criticism formulated for the first time in its extreme way by Wellenhausen Graf, and then further developed and modified by scholars ever since that theory had been enunciated. Thus he shows by careful examination that the philological argument for various authors or various documents being used for the compilation of the Pentateuch are far from convincing or proving anything. Many of the characteristics claimed for one document, e.g. J., are also found in the other document called E. The difference in the use of the divine names Elohim and Ihwh, is shown not to be so consistent as has been alleged to justify ascribing one document to J. and another to E. These names occur then indiscriminately in the documents of alleged diverse origin. The proof which others have tried to bring from proper names is very convincingly refuted, and thus one by one the author is able to show how little reliability there is in the arguments advanced hitherto

for the theory that the Pentateuch is the result of a combination of various documents. Formally it had been alleged that in the time of Moses there was no writing. This is shown now to have been a fallacy resting on that ignorance of facts which have now been entirely removed by various discoveries, and even the suggestion that the text was written in cuneiform is shown to be a hypothesis resting upon no real foundation. He points with great justification to the diversity of opinion which is still reigning among all those who are supporting the complex origin of the Pentateuch. He argues among others that if there had been separate documents such as had been assumed then each of these documents would have contained a complete story. Why should a later redactor take a bit from one and a bit from another document when each tell the same tale, why not reproduce it in its entirety? And it passes the ingenuity of man to understand how anyone could have compiled a book of such uniform character out of small patches and tatters. On the other hand, he finds that there are passages which seem to be like glosses or explanatory notes, also some difficulties in the chronology and in the number of years assigned to periods, and even some slight difference in expressions.

Now the author declares himself in favour of a purely Mosaic origin of the text, Moses utilizing for the Pentateuch all the traditions which were alive among the people, and possibly also lists and slight notices which had come down from olden times. As for the first part of Genesis, the story of the Paradise and the Flood, the author believes these to have been primordial traditions common to most of the nations of ancient times and yet retained and told in a more perfect form in Genesis. The cosmology is of a purely didactic character. He thus gives us on p. 73 a list of all the passages which he believes to be due to Moses, and considers that the passages not included in that list are due to later interpolation and smaller additions made in the course of time. He points out that Moses had forty years time in which to write the books,

and he did not write the whole Pentateuch at once, but as circumstances arose so things were written down, and if there are slight changes in the terminology they are due to the development which has taken place in between and the years which have passed between one section and another. On the other hand, he is quite fair to the higher critics, for he gives on page 73 also the list of passages in Genesis such as ascribed by the authors to the various documents. He also does not exclude the possibility that Moses had some assistant who took down his words, which would not impair the Mosaic authorship of the book, but might explain some slight differences in the words used. Without following the author in this interpretation of the slight differences found, one must recognize in this book a very important advance in the interpretation of the text from a conservative point of view. His negative criticism of the opposing schools is, unquestionably, very destructive, whilst it would be rather difficult to follow him entirely in the constructive part. The difficulties which he finds in the chronology have already been dealt with by Denutrius, a Hellenistic writer, 2,000 years ago, who endeavoured to cope with them and, as far as one can judge by the few fragments, seems to be quite satisfactory, and also the author of the *Seder Olam* of the first or second century C.E. has dealt with these problems, and seems to have solved them quite satisfactorily.

After this introduction then follows the translation to which the author has added very exhaustive notes. He is quite at home in the Babylonian literature and he knows all the theories which have been advanced in the interpretation of the text. In the introduction and still more so in the translation and notes the author gives a complete literature almost to each chapter and often to every important section; each episode is fully illustrated by an exhaustive array of literary references besides a select bibliography on p. 94. Although a catholic professor of theology, it is important to add that no specific catholic tendency is found in the book.

Interesting are, therefore, the chapters on Paradise and the Flood. Chapter X, the list of nations and their identification. Chapter XIV, story of the War of Amraphel; the theories about the twelve sons of Jacob, and, finally, the blessing of Jacob, Chapter XLIX. Scholars may differ from the author in the interpretations of sundry passages, but no one who has followed the trend of biblical studies in modern times will fail to recognize the profound learning, the unbiased character, the fairness, and the consummate scholarship of the author. And all those who are interested in this subject owe him a debt of gratitude for this very valuable contribution to the study of the Bible and the attempted solution of some of the most important problems. An excellent index completes this work, which, moreover, is very beautifully printed.

M. GASTER.

HEBRÄISCHE GRAMMATIK MIT BENUTZUNG der von E. KAUTZSCH bearbeitten 28. Auflage von Wilhelm Gesenius' hebräischer Grammatik vefasst von G. Bergsträsser. II. Teil, Verbum, 1828. 8¼ × 5¾, pp. viii + 182 Leipzig: Hinrichssche Buchhandlung. 1929. M. 5.

This book, though nominally but a new edition of Gesenius' Grammar is practically a new work, and the author is to be commended on not having been deterred from its production by the appearance of rival works, however ambitious. One can agree with his opinion "that the employment of absolutely strick accuracy in matters of Hebrew philology would lead to a demand for discarding the whole system of vocalisation", and having a free hand in dealing with the text. The grammarian, however, has to reckon with the words as he finds them fixed by the dictates of the Māsŏrah. This term has a historical, as well as grammatical interpretation. It

has nothing to do with "tradition", as the author's spelling *Massora* seems to imply, but should be taken as a transformation of מָסֹרֶת (Ezech. xx, 27). This means the strict "binding down" of the text, both consonants and vowels, for the purpose of reading the Law during divine service. It hardly helps to take the word in the way Brockelmann does (*ZDMG.*, lviii, p. 519), since it is highly probable that a radical letter א was squeezed out as in מָחָר and (post-Biblical) מָמוֹן (from אָמַן) being a form like מַטְמוֹן. The late J. Barth's suggestion (*Etym. St.*, p. 40), that this word might becon nected with أسار is really too far fetched. It need not be stressed that the Māsōretic treatment of the text created many problems, caused exegetes to rebel against it, and to alter vowels, consonants, and more, according to the individual conception and taste of students. To all intents and purposes Biblical Hebrew is to a large extent still in the melting pot, and the hope, once and for all, in every respect to get to hard facts must be given up for the present. The student meets everywhere with widely divergent opinions, not only contradictory, but often set forth with more acrimony than necessary. There is no need to treat the views of a scholar of the calibre of Eduard König with disdain, as is done in this book. The existing literature on questions of Semitics and in particular Hebrew grammar, is so vast and diversified that it is almost impossible to keep in any measure abreast of it. The author did right not to enter deeply into the controversy on the phonological phenomena in connection with the formation of verb questions which have not hitherto led to any really satisfactory answer, and are not likely to result in any for the time being. Unlike Arabic, Hebrew has few hard and fast rules, while the others are so overgrown with exceptions, that they in many cases flatly contradict what the student expects. Finality is out of the question. One cannot help noticing the care the author takes not to commit himself to definite statements, and, in the main, confine himself to recording what the text brings.

In the paragraphs dealing with the terminations ךְ and ין, e.g. he only speaks of *Abweichungen in der Formenlehre* without discussion, probably taking parallels with Arabic and Aramaic for granted. Similar instances are not lacking. A pleasing feature is the well-nigh complete bibliography attached to the chapters, though it includes publications which would not be missed. A number of sentences are too long and involved, and likely to cause embarassment to readers not well grounded in the German language. It is rather curious that the author reverts to the old-fashioned spelling of grammatical terms long ago abandoned by Kautzsch and the modern school. This, however, is a minor point. There are many items which prompt further discussion, but these had better be left to special treatment. This is not a book for beginners, but the riper student will find in it a rich field for further research. The present instalments whet the appetite for the still outstanding sections. It is especially that on the noun with the fundamental discord existing between two schools as to its nature and development which is looked forward to with eager expectation. It is to be hoped that the remainder will not be too long delayed.

H. Hirschfeld.

The Jewish Law of Theft. With comparative references to Roman and English Law. By Moses Jung, LL.B., Ph.D. pp. vi + 145. Philadelphia, 1929.

Larceny is treated in various passages of the Pentateuch. The same expression is used for the secret abduction of persons and things, and even in the ethical sense of clandestine acts without any sordid motives, as in Gen. xxxi, 34. For practical purposes the necessity arose of creating a code embracing all eventualities. This was the task of the traditional law with its commentaries and a wide supplementary literature. From the historical point of view it invites a comparison with the laws of other nations older,

contemporary, and later. Thus the relevant laws in the code of Hammurabi are much harsher, even to the point of cruelty. The rabbinic conception of theft does not work mechanically. It enters deeply into the mind of the thief and examines the circumstances that led to the crime, the motives, and ascertains whether the act was premeditated or the effect of a sudden impulse, whether the thief acted with the intention of keeping the stolen object permanently, or to restore it in due time. It even inquires whether the thief had been forewarned. Theft is, therefore, condemned in severer terms than open robbery, being more dangerous to the community on account of the greater difficulty to guard against it. The author also discusses the appropriation of ownerless objects, including such as the ownership of which had been given up. To this class belong animals living in freedom, or in unguarded fields. An important factor is the provision to avoid quarrels and bad feelings. Thus it is forbidden to take animals caught in a trap belonging to another person, or to minors, or mentally deficient people, because they are incapable to assert their rights in a court of law. The enjoyment of fruits in field and garden on the spot is already permitted in the Bible, but removal without permission is forbidden. Considerable space is given in the book to the relation of the Jewish law to that of the nations which hold sway over Jewish territory, or in foreign lands. This had actual application when Jews lived under the dominion of ancient Persia, Rome, Byzanz, and Islâm. Their own laws had under given conditions to give way to the civil laws of the land. It is impossible to enter into the mass of detail discussed by the author, but he can justly claim to have presented a well nigh complete picture of the Jewish conception of the crime of theft in its juridical and psychological aspects. Far from being dry, many of the paragraphs are surprisingly interesting even for lay readers.

H. Hirschfeld.

LA RELIGIONE BABILONESE-ASSIRA. By GIUSEPPE FURLANI. Vol. II, i miti e la vita religiosa. (Bologna, Nicola Zanichelli.)

With praiseworthy promptitude Dr. Furlani's treatise, the first volume of which was recently noticed here, is now completed by this second part, devoted to the myths and the religious observances of Babylonia. In these subjects the author has a great field to cover, and the space at his disposal is amply occupied, so that here the treatment does not seem unduly extended as it occasionally was in the first volume. The main division of the work is into twenty chapters, some of the principal subjects treated being the legends, divination, magic, the calendar, festivals, prayer, sacrifice, eschatology, and the religious organization of the country. Each chapter is followed by full and useful notes, which evince the author's familiarity with the relevant literature, and sometimes give expression to his dissent, generally very reasonable, from accepted opinions. In one or two places he hints at a different interpretation of the rites at the resurrection of Marduk, usually considered to be a kind of mystery-play, but nowhere offers his own views; it is to be hoped that he will propound these more fully elsewhere. He mentions also his own conclusion that the gesture of Assyrian kings pointing the thumb and first finger at divine symbols is a *gesto di comando o imperio*, an idea which, despite the ability with which he has suggested it in another place, will hardly win general assent. It is encouraging to find, in a general work like this, well-justified doubt expressed as to the two animal-fighters on seals being Gilgamesh and Enkidu—there never was any evidence for this identification, and it is certainly wrong. In treating of divination, Dr. Furlani does not adequately bring out the Babylonian conception that the occurrence of an evil omen was a symptom of something amiss in the course of a country's (or an individual's) life, which was to be remedied by the appropriate cure of ritual and incantation; perhaps this is partly due to his having passed over the medical or

diagnostic omens. Apart from a few points like this, and one or two errors of detail, there is little to criticize in his book, and very much to praise, especially the careful adducing of evidence for all the most important statements, and the completeness with which he surveys all the departments of religion. There is an excellent index, which gives ready access to all material points in an eminently sound and useful work.

C. J. G.

A HISTORY OF ANCIENT PERSIA. By ROBERT WILLIAM ROGERS. pp. 10 × 7. Charles Scribner and Sons. Price 30s.

This book, by the author of a well-known History of Babylonia and Assyria, gives a comprehensive and clearly written account of the rise of the Empire of Cyrus and Darius, of its contact with neighbouring nations, and of its final overthrow at the hands of Alexander the Great. The relations with the Greek States are described with sufficient comprehensiveness, though the student will naturally prefer, both for style and treatment, the volumes of the Cambridge Ancient History. Professor Rogers, while he has, like all other writers, to depend mainly on the Greek accounts, has avoided the danger of adopting too entirely the Greek point of view. He does not, for example, regard the nations of the Middle East as barbarians. His knowledge of Babylonian records and of the discoveries in Phrygia and in Lydia enables him to emphasize the degree of civilization reached by Babylonians, Persians, and Hittites before the rise of the Greeks. The extent of this civilization is further brought home by the wide range of the illustrations included in the book; and it is no disparagement of it to say that it is intended rather for the general reader than for the scholar. The description of the battle of Salamis by Aeschylus is given in an Appendix, apparently on the ground that the poet was a participant both in that battle and at Marathon; but the effect of the extract is rather spoilt by thirty of the lines being printed twice over. The announcement of the death

of the American scholar, the author of this book, has been received with great regret by all acquainted with his works.

P. R. C.

A Bibliography of Persia. By Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Arnold T. Wilson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.G., D.S.O. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. x, 253, Oxford: At the Clarendon Press (Mr. Humphrey Milford), 1930.

"Of making many books there is no end," and the charm of Persia has produced, from authors of many nations, thousands, of which Sir Arnold Wilson gives us a catalogue in this bibliography, which, as he says, "in scope is rather general than specialized." In it "Persian literature and works in the Persian language find no place, or receive only incidental mention", yet they are to be found, as well as works in English, French, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, Latin, Greek, German, Dutch, Russian, Danish, Swedish, Hungarian, Arabic, Turkish, and Hebrew. This list may not be exhaustive, but it is sufficient to indicate the scope of the compiler's research. The writings catalogued range from learned folios to short and light magazine articles. Such a task some might deem irksome, but Sir Arnold has approached it and admirably completed it with a light heart.

It is difficult to exaggerate the value of the work. No student of Persia, her people, climate, scenery, fauna, flora, minerals, history, language, literature, politics, religion, culture, or commerce can afford to be without it, for he cannot afford to "ignore those who have gone before him, with the risk of going afresh over ground that has been well studied, and of doing again work that has been already well done." With this excellent compilation before him he will run no such risk.

Much as Sir Arnold's industry is to be admired, this book could not have been compiled but by a master of the subject, and none was better qualified to compile it than he, one of the leading living authorities on Persia.

Wolseley Haig.

NEPAL. By PERCEVAL LANDON. Two vols. 9¾ × 7, pp. xxiii, 358, viii, 363. London: Constable & Co., Ltd., 1928. £3 3s.

The kingdom of Nepal is one of the most important neighbours of India. Its borders march for nearly 700 miles with those of British India. Its secluded valleys, and even more its hillsides breed a race of sturdy peasants, whose superior for all martial virtues are not to be found in the whole sub-continent, scarcely in the whole world. But apart from these political considerations, the curiosity of the ordinary reader is roused by its seclusion from the world at large. It is the one Forbidden Land: in forty-four years only 150 Europeans have visited Nepal,[1] and few of these have gone beyond the confines of the Valley in which the capital, Kathmandu, lies. Such curiosity will be satisfied, in some measure, by a perusal of the two volumes of Perceval Landon's *Nepal*.

The first nine chapters, though containing little that is new, will give to those who have not access to Sylvain Lévi's classic *Le Népal* or cannot make their way through the pages of Wright's translation of the *Vaṁśāvalī*, a clear picture, or at least as clear a picture as the confused and often deficient sources allow, of the history of Nepal to the time of the Indian Mutiny. And here for the first time is fully set out the extent of the help rendered by Nepal under the great Jang Bahadur at this critical period in Indian history.

Landon had the good fortune to be given access to documents and information of every sort concerning contemporary Nepal; though it is doubtful whether his knowledge of the language allowed him to make a first-hand investigation of these materials. But it is true to say that the four chapters describing the reign of the late Prime Minister, the greatest that Nepal has known, Maharaja Chandra Sham Sher Jang Bahadur Rana, form the most original contribution of the

[1] It is typical of the want of proportion displayed in the compilation of these volumes that eight pages have been devoted to recording the names of all these visitors.

volumes. The two chapters entitled "Unknown Nepal" contain interesting descriptions especially of districts and towns in or adjacent to the Valley, but add little to what is already known. But in stating that the only other European who has in recent years travelled in outer Nepal is Dr. Hooker, the author overlooked the exploration in 1922 by a portion of the Everest expedition of that year of the Gorge of the Arun River, a description of which is given by Capt. C. J. Morris in the *Geographical Journal* of 1923. This omission is the more surprising in that the author quoted in his Preface (though without acknowledging their source, a practice too common in these volumes) some lines by the writer of this review which were appended to Captain Morris's article. Another journey, to the Massiang Ridge in the Palpa Hills, undertaken in 1922 by Major W. B. Northey, M.C., is described in his and Capt. Morris's book *The Gurkhas*.

Both volumes have appendixes of considerable value, especially those describing the Fauna and Flora of the country. In these the regret of a linguist is that the authors did not add the native names of the animals and plants catalogued. That is a task which should never be neglected by the exploring zoologist or botanist. In the face of full appendixes of this sort it is surprising to find none devoted to the interesting, multitudinous, and little known languages of the country. Practically the only reference to even the main literary and administrative language of the country is the totally false statement that "philologically the language is in substance Hindi". Spanish might equally well be described as being in substance French.

The lamented death of the gifted author before the book had actually gone to press is doubtless unhappily responsible for certain faults of arrangement and finish. The chapters as they stand are something of a hotch-potch—between chapters of history are interspersed chapters of description or personal reminiscence and appendices on the most varied of subjects. There is one point however to which it is necessary to draw special attention: for, whatever was the case here,

it is often the publisher who is *fons et origo mali*. The scientific value of a work of this sort is largely detracted from by the absence of any approximately complete or consistent system of transliteration of names of places and persons. There are no marks of length, no distinction of dentals and cerebrals; *ś* is sometimes *s*, sometimes *sh*; *ṛ* is sometimes *r*, sometimes *d*; the final (unpronounced) *-a* is sometimes written, sometimes omitted. In a transliteration of the Nepali anthem we have *gumbhīra* for *gambhīra*, but *eeshalé* for *īśale*.

Perhaps, however, the want that is most felt is any adequate description of the people themselves. The reader receives little impression that Landon knew them, those peasants of Nepal. Yet he may well desire to know more of the life, the homes, the thought, the character of the people who sent 200,000 of their number (as large a proportion of the population as was sent by any part of the Empire, except England itself) to help a friendly country in the time of its adversity. They fought on almost every front, and perhaps of all combatant forces on either side they preserved a morale least affected by continual losses. Of one such battalion the General Officer Commanding (an officer not of the Indian, but of the British service) wrote: "The battalion did not miss a single fight in which the brigade was engaged—not only that, but on nearly every occasion it was the most heavily engaged unit. They always did what I asked them to do, and generally a great deal more, and whatever they were doing and whatever was happening elsewhere, I knew their part was all right and I need not worry about the result."

To this great effort on the part of a comparatively small population—the tribes from whom the majority of these men were drawn numbering not more than 900,000 males of all ages—Landon pays worthy tribute.

Both volumes are illustrated with photographs which make the reader wish he could see with his own eyes the beauty of this Forbidden Land.

R. L. TURNER.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISTRICT OF PURNEA IN 1809–10. By FRANCIS BUCHANAN. Edited from the Buchanan MSS. in the India Office Library by V. H. JACKSON, M.A., I.E.S. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 620 + xlvii, maps 2. Patna: Government Press, 1928. Rs. 10.

Dr. Francis Buchanan entered the service of the East India Company on the Bengal establishment in 1794. His wide botanical knowledge and aptitude for other sciences, such as zoology and geology, combined with rare powers of methodical and accurate observation, at once marked him out for employment on special duty. Attached to Captain Symes' embassy to the court of Ava in 1795, he distinguished himself by his botanical and geographical inquiries. We next find him engaged in the study of the Gangetic fishes, and then in botanical research in the Chittagong area. After the conquest of Mysore he was selected by Lord Wellesley to carry out a thorough survey of those territories, enhancing his already high reputation by the ability with which the work was performed. He was then deputed with Captain Knox's mission to Nepal, where his research, supplemented in subsequent years, resulted in what was long the standard account of that kingdom. When, in 1807, the Court of Directors decided to have a detailed statistical survey made of the then Bengal Presidency, Buchanan was nominated to conduct it. Elaborate instructions were drawn up for his guidance: the mere record of the headings under which he was directed to collect and register information would occupy a page of this journal. Sir David Prain, in his admirable *Sketch of the Life of Francis Hamilton (once Buchanan)*, truly remarks: "A more comprehensive programme than this was probably never entrusted to a single officer in or out of India, and it is equally probable that no officer better qualified than Francis Buchanan to undertake the task ever lived." Buchanan started his survey in the rains of 1807, and was continuously occupied with the work, practically without a day's rest, till the end of 1814, when he was required to take

charge of the Botanic Garden near Calcutta. Buchanan drew up a voluminous report, accompanied by appendices, tabular statements, plans, and drawings, in respect of each of the areas surveyed by him. These reports are remarkable not only for the permanent value of much of the information they contain, but also for the discernment and accuracy with which the inquiries were conducted and the results recorded. Most unfortunately steps were not taken to publish these reports during Buchanan's lifetime; and, with the exception of that on the Dinajpur district, none were ever printed. Some nine years after his death, Mr. R. M. Martin, with the sanction of the Directors, went through the manuscript material, and drawing a pencil through "the parts which he did not understand or which did not interest him" (to quote the words of Sir W. W. Hunter), published the balance in three 8vo volumes, in 1838, under the title *The History, Antiquities, Topography, and Statistics of Eastern India*, with his own name on the title-page! Several officers, who had consulted the original MSS. at the India Office, had been impressed with the importance of printing Buchanan's work *in extenso*, but to the late Mr. V. H. Jackson is due the credit of having induced the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, with the assistance of the Local Government, and with the sanction of the Secretary of State for India, to carry this out so far as the districts now in that province were concerned. The volume before us is the first to appear. It contains the complete text of Buchanan's Report on the district of Purnea, with such tables as seemed of permanent value and had not been printed by Martin. Buchanan's map of the district and his plan of the remains at Gauṛ have also been reproduced. The latter is only a copy on a much reduced scale of the careful plan drawn by Mr. H. Creighton in 1801, the difficulty of obtaining which justifies the reproduction. A word of explanation is needed as to the map, which will be welcomed by all who are interested in the many changes in the courses of the rivers in this part of India. The method adopted by Buchanan was

to draw a map of the district, with all the physical features, rivers, hills, etc., carefully delineated (evidently with his own hand) on the same scale, i.e. about 11·8 miles to the inch, as the plates in Rennell's *Bengal Atlas*, which were the only maps he had to work with. As this scale precluded the insertion of all place names, he substituted numbers, in Roman numerals for the Divisions, and in Arabic numerals for the towns and villages, corresponding to the numbers in a separate *Index to the Map*, in which all the names were entered. Buchanan's hand-drawn map was first photographed on a much enlarged scale, and all the names were printed upon a copy of this. The map now published, therefore, reproduces the physical features exactly as drawn by Buchanan and the sites of all places as marked by him; the printing in of the names is the only addition made. As an example of the method adopted by Martin, it will be sufficient to draw attention to the valuable details about the castes found in Purnea, which were omitted by him.

It is to be regretted that Mr. Jackson's health prevented him from prefixing an introduction to this volume. Some notes also might have been added in elucidation of the text in places. The indexes supplied are most helpful.

C. E. A. W. O.

RUSTICUS LOQUITUR, or The Old Light and the New in the Punjab Village. By MALCOLM LYALL DARLING. 9 × 5¾, pp. xix + 400, with sketch map. Humphrey Milford: Oxford University Press, 1930. 15*s*.

This is a further survey of the economic and social conditions of the Panjāb peasant, supplementing the author's previous work, *The Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt*. It is divided into three parts. Parts I and II, which deal with the Eastern and Western Panjab respectively, contain a record of observation and inquiry made in the course of an extensive cold-weather (1928–9) tour as Registrar, Co-operative Societies, over a large portion of the province. Riding from

village to village, the author was in direct touch with all classes of the people, whose views, as well as what he himself noticed, he has recorded in the form of a very readable tour diary. We are thus in touch with realities, and not armchair theories. Part III is devoted to deductions and impressions, a few of which may be noticed here.

Mr. Darling very justly puts in a word for the much-abused moneylender, who, until co-operative societies take firmer root and spread more widely, are a *sine qua non* in the land. His experience of local landlords seems to have been disappointing, as he writes that "taking the province as a whole, it may be said that the landlord is an even greater burden upon society than the moneylender". His opinion of pīrs, mullās, and priests also appears to be largely unfavourable: "What the landlord is in the material sphere, the pīr is in the spiritual"; and, with honourable exceptions, he thinks, the ministrants of religion are "not equal to their task", though, as he very rightly adds, never was such guidance more sorely needed. Of Custom, the iron grip of which has been felt by every official of experience in India, he says: "Allied to superstition and consecrated by religion, it has become so autocratic and exacts such blind obedience that it paralyses growth and perpetuates many practices once perhaps natural but now completely irrational." He finds, however, many signs of the diffusion of the "new light", as he calls it, especially in the eastern tracts. Of the *parda* system he writes that "amongst Hindus, with whom it depends only upon custom, it is weakening; but amongst Muhammadans, backed by both religion and custom and appealing to social ambition as well as to piety, it appears to be spreading". Recent events may possibly call for some modification in this finding. Some suggestions are added for the improvement of the peasant's means of subsistence. In reference to the Hoshiarpur and Jullundur districts he draws attention to a question of much gravity, namely, the sinking over a large tract of the water table below the level of the wells.

In the final chapter Mr. Darling seeks to deal with the question whether the Indian peasant should hold to the "old light" with all its disadvantages, or follow the new with all its dangers; or whether some intermediate course, illuminated by both lights, is possible. To answer this he goes into the relevant question of the interconnection between religion and economics in Indian village life, ending with a strong plea on behalf of what he calls a "gospel of sufficiency and service". Thoughtfully and powerfully written, this chapter is the *pièce de résistance* in the book, calling for attentive reading.

C. E. A. W. O.

THE DESERT ROUTE TO INDIA. Being the Journals of four Travellers by the Great Desert Caravan Route between Aleppo and Basra, 1745–51. Edited by DOUGLAS CARRUTHERS. Hakluyt Society, Series II, vol. lxiii. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xxxvi, 196; with map and 6 plates. London, 1929.

Intercourse by overland routes between the shores of the Mediterranean and the great cities of Mesopotamia and the Persian Gulf ports, which had been carried on from the earliest times, was interrupted from the beginning of the thirteenth century by the incursions of the Mongols and then by the activities of the Turks, only to be resumed when conditions permitted. After the revival of direct trade with India and the East following the discovery by the Portuguese of the Cape route, we find, from the beginning of the sixteenth century, many European travellers and merchants crossing the Syrian desert to the Persian Gulf and proceeding farther east via Ormuz, to avoid the delay and tedium of the voyage round the Cape. Caravans and travellers (who generally accompanied caravans) usually followed one or other of two routes described by Tavernier as (1) *la route du grand désert*, which kept to the desert all the way from Aleppo to Basra, and (2) *la route par le petit désert*, which involved a much shorter

desert journey by striking across to the Euphrates near al Qaim, Ana, or Hit, and thence going to Baghdad and down the Tigris. The four travellers whose records are printed in this volume all followed the first, or "Great Desert Route". Bartholomew Plaisted's account was published by him at the time, and that of John Carmichael was printed in Grose's *Voyage to the East Indies*; while transcripts of the records of William Beawes' journey and of Garland Roberts' letter are among the Orme MSS. in the India Office Library. The narrative of Beawes, and, more particularly, that of Carmichael, owing to the careful topographical observations he made, were utilized by Rennell in the compilation of the remarkably detailed, though little known, maps he drew to illustrate his *Treatise on the Comparative Geography of Western Asia*. The most interesting part of Beawes' journal is the account of the reputed tomb of 'Alī, so sacred to the Shī'a sect of Muhammadans, at Najaf, a town into which he had the rare fortune to be allowed to enter. It had not yet been plundered by the Wahhābīs. Carmichael's account is valuable, not only for its accurate geographical notes, but also as containing the first description by a European of the remains at Ukhaidir, the importance of which has since been revealed by M. Massignon and Miss Gertrude Bell, some twenty years ago. Little of special interest, saving information and hints that would be serviceable to other travellers making the same journey, has been recorded by Plaisted or Roberts.

A feature of this volume is the excellent introduction written by Mr. Carruthers. The footnotes are to the point, and not overdone; and the map gives just the information required.

C. E. A. W. O.

ALAI! ALAI! By W. RICKMER RICKMERS. 8vo, pp. 300, Leipzig: Brockhaus. 1930.

To many members of the Society the composition and object of Dr. Rickmers' expedition will be familiar from the lectures which he delivered on his visit to London last year,

and this fuller account will therefore be the more welcome. The book makes no attempt to forestall the complète scientific reports of the Russo-German Alai-Pamir Expedition of 1928, but consists in the main of extracts from the author's diary, supplemented by letters from other members of the expedition, a short account of its aims and results, a geographical survey of the Turanian Doab, and three short appendices, together with admirable photographs and a good map. Although it is of special interest, of course, to the student of Central Asian geography, there are not a few observations which touch on other branches of study, such as an all-too-short note by Dr. Lentz on the dialects and popular literature of the Tajiks, and the ethnological data contained in various passages. The travel-diary itself is excellent—entertaining, humorous, and informative—and abounds in suggestive asides. It is the true spirit of Dr. Rickmers, for example, when a companion in a mosquito-infested camp dolefully counts fifty bites on the back of his right hand alone, to be moved to the observation that "counting is the soul of science, a thing which many people never understand, and all your progress is due to the fact that somebody counts what nobody ever thought of counting before."

H. A. R. G.

IM LAND DER STÜRME. By EMIL TRINKLER. Mit Yak- und Kamelkaravanen durch Innerasien. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 243. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1930. 15 marks.

In his preface, the author tells us of the influences which helped to shape his career as an explorer. He has already travelled in Afghanistan and written a book on his experiences in that country. Central Asia cast its spell over him while he was still a schoolboy. Even then he began his Tibetan studies. Later the books of Aurel Stein and Sven Hedin fixed his interest especially on Chinese Turkestan. As geologist and geographer he was attracted by the unexplored mountains of inmost Asia and the manifold problems they

suggest. As great was his interest in the culture problems of that region bound up as these are with its physical conditions.

It was with the hope of solving some of the riddles connected with the glaciation of the Central Asian highlands and the origin of the Takla Makan Desert that Dr. Trinkler with his two companions—Dr. Bosshard and Mr. de Terra—set out in the spring of 1927 for Chinese Turkestan. The travellers hoped too to discover Buddhist remains in the south-western edge of the great desert—a region as yet unexplored by the archæologist.

After the striking discoveries made by Sir Aurel Stein and the late Dr. von Le Coq, it is easy to understand how the prospect of finding further remains fascinated the explorers and with what high hopes they started on their quest.

Dr. Trinkler has reserved for a later work the full account of the scientific results of his expedition. This book touches lightly on these, but quite sufficiently to show that solid work was done by all the members of the expedition.

The present book is essentially a travel narrative, and should interest every past, present, and future explorer in these regions, the writer recording faithfully his daily experiences with local authorities, servants, pack animals, food, weather, and the like.

To get the full interest of this book the text should be read in conjunction with the map at the end of the volume in which the travellers' various routes are so clearly marked. In the regions they traversed between Srinagar in Kashmir and Kashgar in Chinese Turkestan they experienced the greatest possible variety of weather and scenery—tropical heat and polar cold—glorious sunshine and terrible dust storms, the grandeur of mountains, and the illimitable space of the desert.

Dr. Trinkler is artist as well as scientist. Even if his water colour sketches did not betray the fact, we should know it by his plastic descriptions of nature in these regions. He has

all the artist's sensitive response to weather influences, loves the desert solitude more than the dwellings of men and makes the reader feel the charm of the desert when the weather is gracious. For there are days in Central Asia unsurpassed in any other part of the world. Late autumn there is like a fine September in the more northerly latitudes of Europe, but Europe cannot give us the crystal clarity of the air nor can it create that buoyancy of spirit which is a direct result of the exhilarating atmosphere.

Though the inhabitants of Asia might by this time have become accustomed to the European explorer, there are still many who regard him with distrust. While the representatives of the Chinese Government in Yarkand and Kashgar were most courteous and hospitable to Dr. Trinkler and his companions, they were powerless to influence their masters in Urumchi. There is one thing the average Oriental cannot understand—that men will undergo hardships and brave danger for purely ideal ends. He suspects some sinister purpose behind such activities. It is hardly surprising, therefore, to find the Chinese authorities forbidding Dr. Trinkler and his companions to make excavations or investigate mountains in their territories. One feels deep sympathy with the explorers after the promising harvest they had already garnered. Their decision to leave the country instead of wasting time in endless and fruitless discussion was the only possible one.

While the reader may feel regret, he must be grateful to the three travellers for providing him with so much that is entertaining and instructive. The photographs of the Buddhist remains found on the Takla Makan border are extremely interesting. Equally so are those of the various Tibetan monasteries visited and filmed by the travellers. No phase of their journey seems to have escaped their cameras. Text and illustrations together give as convincing a picture of Asiatic travel and exploration as any book on the subject which has recently appeared.

C. Mabel Rickmers.

Asia: A Regional and Economic Geography. By L. Dudley Stamp, D.Sc., B.A., M.I.P.T. 8¾ × 5¾, pp. xx + 616, maps and diagrams 324. London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1929. 27*s.* 6*d.* net.

Some years ago Dr. Paul Rohrbach, one of Germany's leading political writers, founded what he called the science of *Geopolitik* or the study of political questions in their geographical aspect. This science does not merely recognize the part geographical factors have played in the past history of nations, it seeks to show how these are influencing and must continue to influence the policy of the nations and peoples of to-day.

Professor Dudley Stamp's comprehensive work on the geography of Asia is a valuable contribution to the new science.

In the panorama the author unrolls of the geological structure of the continent with its resulting influence on the interrelated factors of climate and vegetation we see the stage prepared on which the populations of Asia were to play their parts.

Nature has not been over generous here in the distribution of her gifts. Where she gives bountifully in one direction she withholds elsewhere, and her very gifts are often neutralized by the presence of inimical factors.

Small wonder that the achievements of Asia should seem meagre when compared with what mankind elsewhere has wrested from the soil and its products and here one fundamental cause of this backwardness is revealed as physical. It is in part to their geographical barriers that the peoples of Asia owe their aloofness from the rest of the world, and from that cross-fertilization of ideas on which all progress in culture depends.

Step by step the author shows us how the combined factors of geographical position, climate, vegetation and the presence or absence of minerals have sealed the economic fate of peoples. And he shows us, too, how the infiltration of Western ideas

is gradually overcoming the geographical drawbacks which have hitherto hindered the development of the countries of Asia. We see an example of this in the splendid irrigation systems carried out by the Indian Government whereby millions of acres of soil have been made productive and the devastating famines of former years averted. Another instance is the extraordinary prosperity which has followed the development of the rubber trade in the Dutch East Indies.

The book falls into two parts. The first deals with what may be called the purely geographical character of the continent, with its orography, structure, climate, vegetation, and population. The second part treats of the countries of Asia from the point of view of their physical boundaries, which do not always coincide with their political frontiers. Thus Afghanistan comes under the "Iranian Plateau", while the section called "The Dead Heart of Asia" deals with Tibet and Mongolia.

Geography as treated by Professor Stamp becomes a fascinating subject. He breathes life into the dry bones of statistics. Having travelled largely in Asia himself he can give those personal touches to his narrative which hold the interest of the reader in thrall.

The author deprecates the meagreness of his treatment of Asiatic Russia, which he calls the least satisfactory chapter in his book. His work was published before the results of the Russo-German Pamir Expedition of 1928 had been published. A perusal of these might have led him to modify his remarks on the glaciation of the Pamirs. One of the discoveries of the Expedition was the length of the Fedchenko glacier. This product of Pamir glaciation turns out to be the longest glacier in the world excepting those of the Arctic regions. The Soviet Government of Russia are actively engaged in studying their vast dominions with a view to their economic development, but some time is likely to pass before the results of their researches reach the rest of Europe in readable form.

A word must be added about the excellence of

Professor Stamp's maps and diagrams. Visual being usually stronger than verbal memory, a careful study of these will give the student a clearer grasp of the geographical features of the various regions than a merely verbal enumeration of these could do.

Such a work as this must, of course, owe much of its information to other sources. One of its merits is the detailed bibliography given by the author and his careful acknowledgment of the sources to which he has been chiefly indebted.

Apart from the student of geography, to whom it is indispensable, this book should appeal to readers of many kinds—to the traveller, the explorer, the student of economics, and the sociologist. For, as the author shows, a nation's fate, though largely, is not wholly determined by geographical factors. The influence of these may even be stultified by prejudices, religious and social, as in the case of the Chinese who sacrifice the best soil in their country to cemeteries, and whose ancestor-worship is directly responsible for the precarious existence of millions who, if they could but break the ban that binds them to the soil of their forefathers, might lead longer and happier lives elsewhere.

C. Mabel Rickmers.

Tibetisch-Chinesische Wortgleichungen. Ein Versuch von Walter Simon. Reprinted from Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen, Bd. xxxii, Abt. 1. 9¼ + 6¼ inches. pp 72. Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter, 1930. Rm. 8.

Dr. Simon has here most efficiently attacked a problem which has too long lain almost entirely neglected. For not since 1916, at the end of Laufer's "Si-Hia Language" (*T'oung Pao*, xvii, pp. 1–126) has any serious attempt on it been made. He has again used the care with which we are accustomed to meet in his work, and has compared throughout only the oldest reconstructed word forms of both Tibetan and Chinese.

In the face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary, he has not felt himself bound by Conrady's law of comparing only sonant with sonant, surd with surd, initial, but believes rather that obvious relationships within a group where surd has to be compared with sonant, or vice versa, should not be rejected. This course is, indeed, essential when working in any but a very limited Tibetan or Chinese area, and is in very many instances the only possible avenue of approach.

Again, he rightly contends that many Tibetan words now without final consonant are indicated by relatives in either final nasal (*ṅ*, *n*, *m*) or sonant (*g*, *d*, *b*) to have once possessed one, though his further deductions from this point may seem a little difficult to accept.

One of his most important suggestions is that probably Tibetan superscribed *r*- and *l*- are often transfers back from an original following position. Then *rkaṅ*, foot (No. 146) would be for older *kraṅ* (cf. Ch. 脚 kjak [*kịag*]), *rgod*, mare (No. 183) for older *grod* (cf. Ch. 騍 k'uâ [*k'uâd*]), and others. It is quite conceivable that a first impulse in this direction might have arisen in Tibetan from its widespread use of prefixed elements, as these might tend to draw back the second members of groups also into prefixed position. This would probably begin with the verb to which alone, as the native grammarians recognize, prefixation seems originally to have been peculiar, and we may possibly have here the source of a certain number of replacement forms in which *r*- or *l*- appear for some other element. The process would naturally be carried over into the domain of pure substantives, and it is quite probable that Simon has actually found the reason for, and origin of, many of the superscripts among them, for with substantives they are certainly not normal. Chinese may do us a signal service here, and Simon seems to have discovered an avenue through which we may eventually, with success, attack at least a part of the problem of prefix and superscript shifting in Tibetan.

But, though this suggested movement of *r*- and *l*- may

explain a certain number of cases, there are a great many which it will not fit. In the case of *r-* alone, for instance, *rgol-ba*, to combat, evidently contains a true prefix and not a transplanted *r-*, else what has become of it in *ạgal-ba*, to counteract, to violate, *ạk̄ol-ba*, to oblige a person to be a servant, *k̄ol(-po, -mo)* servant, etc. ?; and again in *rgod-pa*, to grow weak, where we have also *god*, loss, damage, *dgos-pa*, to want, to need, *dgon-pa*, desert, waste, solitary place, and *sgos*, private, separate ? Further, *rtol-ba*, to bore through (Simon, No. 318) evidently contains a true prefixed *r-* as shown by *ạdol-sa*, fertile ground (lit. sprout's ground) belonging directly with *rdol-ba*, to sprout (of seeds); and *rdul* dust (esp. when floating in the air) (No. 319), is in the same position as shown by *ạtul-ba*, to rise, to spread (of smoke, etc.).

The possibility that many of his first suggested equations may later turn out to be invalid, Simon has himself specifically foreseen, and among them must probably also be numbered verbs in which the Tibetan form has a relative in other Tibeto-Burman languages with the same prefix. Thus, Tibetan *rkod* (*rko*), to dig (No. 164) is paralleled by Mikir *ā-r-ke*, and again Tibetan *rdun*, to hit (No. 121) is represented in Mikir by (*pe-*)*ā-r-deṅ*. The probability is rather that when such parallels within the Tibeto-Burman family itself exist, comparison of the Tibetan form with Chinese must be withdrawn if its validity depends upon back transfer (*versetzer Stellung*), for there is every reason to believe that in the related language or languages in which the word also possesses the prefix the date of the origin of the prefix precedes that at which its original function ceased. In such cases the Tibetan, and in general the Tibeto-Burman, prefix is probably in consequence original.

There is far too much material in Dr. Simon's study to make adequate discussion possible here, and it can only be hoped that it will rapidly find its way into the hands of all who are interested in the study of Indo-Chinese languages, either in limited areas or over the field as a whole. We should then

be able to look for the awakening of interest in the detailed relationship between Chinese and Tibetan, a fundamental problem which has thus far suffered a neglect truly difficult to understand.

STUART N. WOLFENDEN.

MUGHAL RULE IN INDIA. By the late S. M. EDWARDES and H. L. O. GARRETT. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, vi + 374 pp. London: Oxford University Press; Humphrey Milford, 1930. 15*s*. net.

There can be no doubt that the authors of this volume have achieved their object in presenting to the student "a comprehensive record of the main facts and subsidiary details of Mughal sovereignty which are to be found both in original sources and in the numerous and occasionally costly works of modern writers." In fact, this well-arranged and up-to-date account of Mughal rule in India supplies a long-felt need.

The first five chapters are a very clear re-statement of the main events between the accession of Babur and the death of Aurangzeb, and, as such, form a useful introduction to the later account of the chief economic and social features of the period. Undoubtedly the best chapter in the book is that dealing with Mughal administration. Here we have an excellent summary of the Mughal military system, far more readable than that of Irvine in his *Army of the Indian Mughals*. Taking Moreland as their authority, they also trace the decline of the administrative system after Akbar's death and show how far his immediate successors departed from the main principles of his rule. When dealing with Akbar's religious policy the authors correct the popular belief that it was one of universal toleration, for, according to the Jesuit Fathers, who resided for many years at his court, the one exception to Akbar's policy of Sulh-i Kul was his treatment of Muhammadans, who appear to have been subjected to petty persecution. Due prominence is also given to the growth of persecution under Jahangir and Shah Jahan.

The chapter on Mughal architecture should be of considerable interest not only to the student of this period but also to the general reader who will be charmed by the excellent illustrations with which the book is provided.

C. COLLIN DAVIES.

DIE DISPUTATIONEN DES P. COSME DE TORRES, S.J., MIT DEN BUDDHISTEN IN YAMAGUCHI IM JAHRE 1551. Von GEORG SCHURHAMMER, S.J. "Mitteilungen" der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens. Band xxiv, Teil A. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. x + 114. Tokyo: Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, 1929. *Rm.* 8.

In 1900 a letter of St. Francis Xavier reporting his debates with the Buddhists of Yamaguchi in Japan was for the first time published in the original text. This letter has now been translated into German, along with three letters from one of his companions, P. Torres, and one by another, Juan Fernandez; and together, with a rather formidable apparatus of notes, biography, bibliography, index, and an appendix consisting of the original Spanish text of Fernandez' letter, and of the first of Torres' letters, is presented in these *Proceedings* of the German Society for the Study of the Natural History and Ethnology of Eastern Asia, by Georg Schurhammer, of the Roman Catholic Missionary Society, to which St. F. Xavier himself belonged.

Naturally the opponents of the Christian Missioners are not set out in the best light; and St. Francis Xavier is represented as gaining an easy victory over the protagonists of "these two demons, Shaka and Amida, and all the other demons" worshipped in the town of Yamaguchi, which is interesting enough in its way. But what would the good Saint have said had he been able to look into the future and see some 400 years later a poem being written in a European language dealing with the life and doctrines of the first-mentioned of his abhorred "demons" that would be read

with admiration by thousands of his fellow-continentals? Maybe St. Francis Xavier and Sir Edwin Arnold typify as well as any can the difference between Spain and England, and between the fifteenth and the twentieth century of European culture. *Laus deo*, as the Saint would *not* have said.

It is to be noted that Torres found the representatives of the Zen sect of Buddhism in Yamaguchi the most difficult to overthrow in argument, and the propounders of questions which gave him most trouble to answer. As to the others, so he writes to his fellow-religionists in India, their evil lives laid them open, on that account, to easy conquest by the preachers of "our holy Catholic faith", and also made them more contumacious towards those whose chaster lives put them to shame. But he praises the Japanese in general for their sound sense, their keen intellectual curiosity, their extremely courteous manners, literary attainments, and freedom from the vice of gambling, by which he considered them better prepared to have the Faith planted among them than any other people in the world. The civil war raging in the Yamaguchi district at the time of the Saint's landing increased the difficulties in the path of the Saint and his companions, but, despite all, he made many converts, notwithstanding that he had to do all his preaching through an interpreter.

The Fernandez letter is the most interesting of the four, being a report to St. Francis himself of what happened in the way of question and answer, after he had left Japan, between Torres and the "bonzes" of Yamaguchi. It also tells of the danger of death during the fighting which he and Torres escaped only through the kindness of the supporter of a Buddhist monastery and his wife, who gave them asylum first in the monastery, and afterwards successfully hid them in the passage-way to the outhouse used by the women of his household. This particular letter was only discovered by the translator quite recently among a collection of missionary letters from Japan, and is now for the first time published in full. J. F. M.

MALAY VILLAGE MEDICINE. Prescriptions collected by I. H. BURKILL and MOHAMED HANIFF. *The Gardens' Bulletin*, Straits Settlements, vol. vi, pt. ii. 9½ × 6, pp. 157. Singapore: Botanic Gardens, 1930. $2.50.

The present publication is the second of three parts of vol. vi of *The Gardens' Bulletin*, of which Part i, by David Hooper, already published, is entitled "On Chinese Medicine: Drugs of the Chinese Pharmacies in Malaya"; the third part will consist of a translation of a Malay manuscript on medicine.

The authors of the present instalment have toured through the Malay Peninsula, and made the acquaintance of *bomors*, or physicians of the native school, and *bidans*, or midwives. These brought specimens of the plants used by them in treatment, and also gave information as to the way in which they were used; the specimens were subsequently determined and preserved in the herbarium of the Botanic Gardens, Singapore. The authors also examined the shops of Chinese herbalists, and recorded the plants in them. The information they obtained is here presented; the 1675 specimens of plants are arranged in their natural orders, genera, and species; the Malay name of each species is given, and the name of the most important place in the informant's neighbourhood; these are followed by the complaint for which, and the way in which, the plant is used. This list of plants under their scientific names is succeeded by a glossary, of forty-four pages, of the vernacular names.

The most obvious comment to be made on the lists is that the number of plants employed medicinally in the Peninsula seems extraordinarily large. The specimens collected by the authors go into, at a rough computation, about 800 species; when to these are added the drugs of animal and mineral origin, which doubtless are also numerous, the total pharmacopœia of the native physicians and midwives must be extremely extensive.

It need not be said that the larger number of these remedies

are probably quite inoperative, e.g. *Torenia polygonoides* pounded with rice flour and used as a poultice on the abdomen in dropsy; the juice, obtained by slashing the bark, of *Symplocos rubiginosa* smeared on the skin over the spleen as a preventive of enlargement of that organ; a decoction of the leaves of *Solanum verbascifolium* cannot have much virtue when used for washing the body after childbirth. The number of drugs is itself an indication of their general inefficacy; since it is improbable that fever, childbirth, toothache, diarrhœa, stomach-ache, rheumatism, etc., would have arrayed against them so numerically formidable an armamentarium if any single one of the drugs were reasonably efficacious.

Medicine and magic shade into each other; and many of these remedies might rather be called magical than medical. Thus the leaves of *Elephantopus scaber* are burnt in order to keep evil spirits away from the new-born infant; *Dendrobium crumenatum* is used for sprinkling water through the house after a death to keep the spirit from haunting it; *Eurycoma longifolia* is to be pulled up in silence, and under no circumstances is its name, *petala bumi*, to be mentioned; a decoction is to be made by boiling and used as an *ubat meroyan*. The last term is explained thus: the Malays are apt to consider all sicknesses following childbirth as originating at that time of exposure of the mother to the attacks of evil spirits, and to place them in a category called *sakit meroyan*; to ward off such sicknesses preparations called *ubat meroyan* are administered over the first three days after childbirth.

It is interesting to note that the vernacular names of the plants are in many cases determined by the plant's uses, and not by its appearance; hence plants of the most diverse appearance may, if capable of the same use, get the same name, to the surprise of botanists who are ignorant of Malay usages.

Enough has been said to indicate the importance of this work for comparative medicine and ethnology. The authors

must have given much time and enthusiasm to this valuable compilation, and are to be heartily congratulated on the result of their labours.

J. STEPHENSON.

A HITTITE MANUAL FOR BEGINNERS. By GEORGE A. BARTON. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xxviii + 85. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1928.

Professor Barton's *Manual* is divided into three parts, a useful list of the Hittite cuneiform characters, with their variant forms; a sketch of Hittite grammar, and a transliteration and translation of the Treaty of Mursilis with Kupanta-KAL to which a vocabulary is attached. The translation was made before the publication of Professor Friedrich's elaborate work on the subject, and a good many corrections must now be made in the vocabulary, which contains not only translations that need revision but also misprints like *Azanwa* (twice) for *Arzawa* and *ilil-* "go to", for *ilal-*. *Arakh*, again, should be printed in capitals, the Hittite word for "I arrive" being *ar-khat* from *ar* "to go" where the *kh* is a verbal suffix; *arakhzanda* "on both sides" has nothing to do with it. *Asas-*, again, does not mean "to invade", but "to settle"; in i, 76–7, for example, the translation should be: "And from the river Astarpa and the river Siyanta in none of my cities shall you settle."

A. H. S.

LEGGI DELL'ASIA ANTERIORE ANTICA. By GIUSEPPE FURLANI. $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$. Roma: Instituto per l'Oriente, 1929.

Professor Furlani has given us a very valuable book. It is a complete collection, brought up to date and translated into Italian, of the Babylonian, Assyrian, and Hittite Codes of Law, in so far as they have been preserved. The name of the author is a sufficient guarantee for the accuracy and trustworthiness of the translations on both their legal and (in the case of the Babylonian and Assyrian texts) philological sides. Notes and references are added to the translations,

and they are preceded by a list of the chief books and articles that have been published on the subject. The volume will be found indispensable by students of ancient law, and more especially the laws of the Pentateuch.

A. H. S.

REMINISCENCES OF MRS. FINN. 9 × 6, pp. 256. London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1929. 6*s*. net.

Mrs. Finn lived to the age of ninety-six and at the age of eighty-seven dictated her Reminiscences, which are brought down to 1863, when she and her husband left Palestine and settled in England. She was a remarkable woman: on her fourth birthday she was given an English Bible because she "was able to read it well", and the next year a German Bible "for the same reason", and she "knew 'Yiddish' as soon as" she knew English and German. And at the age of three she had been taught Hebrew "by a dear old Jewish Rabbi". She had, in fact, been born in Warsaw, where her father, Dr. McCaul, was working on behalf of the Bible Society. Her earlier years were passed in Poland and Germany, and her schooling, therefore, was chiefly "home-made". Dr. McCaul had much to do with the establishment of the Anglican Bishopric in Jerusalem; it was to him that the Chevalier Bunsen and the Prussian king Frederick William IV first wrote on the subject, stating that the king was ready to found the Bishopric if Dr. McCaul would accept it. This, however, he refused to do on the ground that the first Bishop ought to be of Jewish descent, and he suggested instead of himself Dr. Alexander, whom he succeeded as Professor of Hebrew at King's College, and who was accordingly appointed. Four years later Mrs. Finn married Mr. Finn, who had just been gazetted British Consul in Jerusalem by Lord Aberdeen. Like Dr. McCaul he was deeply interested in the history of the Jews, both present and future, and had more especially investigated their establishment and position in China.

After an adventurous voyage and many delays the Consul and his wife reached Jerusalem, and there began the life which has made the names of Consul and Mrs. Finn a landmark in the recent history of the Holy City. As given in Mrs. Finn's Reminiscences it is full of side-lights on the older Turkey, untouched as yet by the results of the Crimean War. The Consul still had "the right of wearing a white turban, riding a horse, and carrying bow and arrows", and fighting immediately outside the walls of Jerusalem between the Bedawin and the peasantry or between the peasantry themselves was still of constant occurrence, "savage cruelties" being perpetrated on both sides. But the British Consul's position was not unlike that of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, "the Great Elchi," in Constantinople. Appeals for help or justice were made to him not only by Jews but by other nationalities as well, his word was law to the Bedawin and even to the peasantry, and under his protection the traveller was generally able to move about in safety.

The Crimean War, however, was the turning-point in the relations of East and West, at all events in Palestine. In 1855 Mr. and Mrs. Finn accompanied the Duke of Brabant (afterwards King Leopold of Belgium) and other visitors to the mosque of Omar—the first time any Christians had been allowed within the sacred precincts since the period of the crusades. The Turkish authorities managed to inveigle the "Takrooris" or armed Sudanese blacks, who were the guardians of the mosque, to another part of Jerusalem on the pretext of a letter being read to them from the Sultan, and during their absence the visit was paid. Seven months later Sir Moses Montefiore arrived with a firman from the Sultan enjoining his admission to the Temple Sanctuary. Then came the Hatt-i-Humayûn or Act of Religious Toleration, and the most fanatical of the Moslems soon became accustomed to the sight of the infidel tourist exploring the innermost secrets of the Haram. The hospitable

house of the British Consul became at the same time the meeting-place of European celebrities: among its visitors were Renan and Frederika Bremer, not to speak of the Prince of Wales and Dr. Stanley. Holman Hunt, too, lived for a while close at hand, engaged in painting his picture of the Scapegoat.

But the book is full of interesting anecdotes, of references to well-known names and of scenes from a Palestine which has now ceased to exist. One thing is wanting to it, an index, which we hope will be added to the second edition.

A. H. S.

Bases, Méthodes et Résultats de la Chronologie égyptienne. By Raymond Weill. Paris: Geuthner, 1928.

Monsieur Weill is well known as an Egyptologist of the first rank, and more particularly as a student of the history and chronology of the Hyksos period. In this "complementary" work, as he terms it, he devotes himself to the Egyptian calendar, and examines in detail the relations between the "mobile" and "Sothic" years. How far he has succeeded in attaining certainty is for the astronomer and mathematician to judge rather than the philologist. It must be remembered, however, that Sir Flinders Petrie now claims to have discovered at Tell Fara a long list of Hyksos Pharaohs divided into three successive dynasties, the last of which is dated by scarabs of the well-known Grand Vizier Hor.

A. H. S.

The Babylonian Story of the Deluge and the Epic of Gilgamish. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, pp. 57. British Museum, 1929. 1*s.* 6*d.*

This is a revised edition of Sir Wallis Budge's well-known "brochure", brought up to date by Mr. Gadd. It is an admirable example of what such a work ought to be, informative and interesting alike to the scholar and the general

public. The illustrations are numerous and well-chosen, and the text is full of new light. Needless to say, the translations are as faultless as it is possible to make them to-day.

A. H. S.

EXCAVATIONS IN THE TYROPŒON VALLEY, JERUSALEM, 1927. By J. W. CROWFOOT and G. M. FITZGERALD. Palestine Excavation Fund, 1929.

In this sumptuously printed and illustrated volume a very complete account is given of the excavations which, thanks to Sir Charles Marston's generosity, were carried on in the Tyropœon Valley in 1927. Mr. Crowfoot is a skilled excavator and archæologist, and if the results of his work are a little disappointing to the student who is chiefly interested in the earlier history of Jerusalem it is no fault of his. The field of excavation was circumscribed, proprietary rights and the greed of the owners making it impossible to work outside a limited area, while the successive destructions and reconstructions which the buildings of Jerusalem have undergone render it difficult to discover anything except the remains of a later age. Even potsherds are scarce. Until it is possible to dig under the Moslem cemeteries which border on the walls of the Haram the relics of pre-exilic Jerusalem must be scanty. It is all the more satisfactory, therefore, that the old gateway of the early Jebusite city should have been discovered under a street of the Byzantine town, and that careful observation has brought to light relics of most of the chief epochs in the history of the Jewish capital. As Dr. Hall remarks in his preface: "Results of considerable importance with regard to the ancient history of Jerusalem have been obtained. The great gate takes us back almost to the beginning of things on Ophel; the Byzantine houses show us what the Jerusalem of the later Empire was like." The coins, moreover, illustrate the Maccabæan and succeeding periods and the pottery carries us from the Bronze Age down to that of the Crusaders.

A. H. S.

THE ANNUAL OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOLS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH. Vol. IX. Yale University Press and Oxford University Press, 1929. 21*s*.

The American Schools of Oriental Research owe both their inspiration and their organization to Professor Breasted. Oriental archæology is already greatly indebted to them, and the debt is rapidly increasing year by year. The latest volume of the *Annual* contains reports on the excavations at Beth Shemesh by Mr. Elihu Grant and the discovery of Tepe Gawra, east of Khorsabad, and the preliminary work undertaken at the site by Dr. Speiser. Beth Shemesh had already been partially excavated by the Palestine Exploration Fund. The American expedition cleared the western corner of the ancient city, where five superimposed strata of buildings were brought to light. The walls, built originally in the Middle Bronze Age, disclosed three main layers of construction. An open-air sanctuary was also found, with a "pitted" circular slab of limestone. The main part of the work, however, was concentrated on the cemeteries, one belonging to the Middle Bronze Age, a second with Cypriote importations to the Later Bronze Age, and a third to the transition period. Egyptian influence was "apparent in all the periods". Numerous terra-cottas were found, including figurines, and the pottery was abundant.

Tepe Gawra was discovered by Dr. Speiser while on a motor tour of exploration between Mosul and Kirkuk, and trial excavations were made in it which resulted in very interesting discoveries. The mound turned out to be representative not only of three periods of time but also of three different civilizations. The first was that of a neolithic population who occupied the site for several centuries and used "the painted pottery" of which we have heard so much of late. According to Dr. Speiser the painted pottery of Tepe Gawra resembles that of both El-Obeid and Jemdet Nasr, as well as that of Susa I, and possibly also some of the wares of prehistoric Armenia. Gawra II also belongs to

the neolithic age. But the people who succeeded the earliest occupants of the site, while inferior as potters, were considerably advanced in other respects. They built for themselves a temple of burnt brick, suggestive of an origin in the stoneless regions of the lower Tigris and Euphrates, and among the objects found in it are "horns of consecration" and a phallic object indicative of circumcision. Gawra III is early Sumerian; copper objects like those of Ur and El-Obeid occur in it, as well as seal-cylinders of the "Gilgames" and other types.

It only remains to say that the illustrations of the *Annual* are numerous and good and leave nothing to be desired on archæological grounds.

A. H. S.

ORIENTAL INSTITUTE COMMUNICATIONS: No. 2, *Explorations in Asia Minor*, by H. H. VON DER OSTEN, 1927; No. 3, *First Report of the Prehistoric Survey Expedition*, by K. S. SANDFORD and W. J. ARKELL, 1928; No. 4, *The Excavation of Armageddon*, by C. S. FISHER, 1929: No. 5, *Medinet-Habu* 1924-8, by H. H. NELSON and U. HŒLSCHER, 1929; No. 6, *Explorations in Asia Minor*, by H. H. VON DER OSTEN, 1929. Chicago: University of The Chicago Press.

The *Communications* are a fitting and useful accompaniment of the *Annual* and enable the archæologist to keep abreast of the discoveries and work of the Oriental Institute of the Chicago University which are going on actively in the nearer East. The "Prehistoric Survey" is being carried out in the valley of the Nile and more especially the desert south of Assuan, and has already thrown much light on the early history of man in that region of the world. "Armageddon"—a somewhat unfortunate title for a strictly scientific piece of work—describes the important excavations at Megiddo, where among other discoveries that of the stables of Solomon's horses is one of the most interesting and unexpected. The

volume on Medînet-Habu recounts the careful reproduction by photography and tracing of the important bas-reliefs at Medînet-Habu. For the first time we have a meticulously accurate reproduction of the scene in the great battle which saved Egypt from the barbarians, and can study the racial features of its northern enemies without misgivings. The two volumes on Explorations in Hittite Asia Minor are of unequal value. The first contains little more than an account of a species of " joy-ride " in a motor car ; a motor car, it is true, is a very useful adjunct to the archæologist when he has found a site for excavation, but for the discovery of ancient sites and remains in a mountainous country like that of Asia Minor it is necessary to travel slowly and live among the people. The second volume is of much greater value, though even here we could have well dispensed with photographs of the explorers and the adventures of their car and had in place of them better and more numerous photographs of the monuments and inscriptions. The latter, it must be said, compare unfavourably with the photographs in Professor Garstang's *Land of the Hittites*. The most important results of the expedition were the discovery and survey of an early city on the Kerkenes Dagh and the preliminary excavation of the great mound of Alishar, south-east of Yuzgad. Here very valuable results were obtained since the various cultural levels of the *tel* " provided a reliable relative chronology for pottery from early Turkish times back to the 'Hittite' period ", this Hittite period being " associated definitely with the 'Hittite' hieroglyphs ". And below the " Hittite " level were at least two earlier ones. We look forward to a detailed account of the excavations which is promised in a future volume of the Oriental Institute Publications. Mr. von der Osten has attached excellent sketch-maps to his two volumes, but it is tantalizing to hear of " Phrygian " inscriptions which do not seem to have been even photographed.

A. H. S.

Histoire Politique et Religieuse de l'Abyssinie depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à l'avènement de Ménélick II. By J. B. Coulbeaux, Missionaire Lazariste en Abyssinie. Paris: Geuthner. 1929. Three volumes.

This is a posthumous work, edited by Father Baeteman. The first volume brings the history down to 1434, the second to 1889. The third volume consists of photographs and maps. One who publishes a posthumous work incurs serious responsibility, since *nescit vox missa reverti*, whereas unpublished material is not liable to any reproach. In a historical work it is possible and often easy for an editor to remove inconsistencies and alter what is certainly erroneous. Father Baeteman might well have discharged these duties more scrupulously than he has done, since the number of contradictions and glaring errors is very considerable. Vol. ii, p. 345, we read that " le même jour (3 mai 1723) le roi Daouit rendit son âme "; in the next paragraph " on célébrait les funérailles du roi Daouit. Elles eurent lieu le 14 mai 1721 ". His funeral then was celebrated nearly two years before his death. P. 308, " Ce fut, ensuite, la mort de la reine (1690) que nous avons relatée en son temps. Quatre ans après, la reine mourait à son tour ". This seems to mean that the lady in question survived herself by four years. P. 146, " Tezkaro et son frère, fils naturels de Glaodios, étaient ses héritiers légitimes, ce prince n'ayant pas laissé d'enfant mâle." This sentence is puzzling enough; but on p. 143 Minas, the brother of Tezkaro (according to p. 146) is differently related: " Tezkaro était son neveu, fils de Jacob son frère ainé." One more example may be quoted from vol. i. P. 127, Pliny " qui visita le port d'Adoulis, deux siècles plus tard ", is quoted for its importance; there follows a citation from " l'auteur du Périple de l'Erythée [sic], qui, trois siècles plus tard (70 avant Jésus-Christ), visita Aksoum ". According to this, Pliny's date was 170 B.C. However, p. 130, the visit of the " auteur anonyme du 'Périple de l'Erythrée' " is

placed in the second half of the first century (evidently A.D.). This latter date (which is right) is not a century later than Pliny, but contemporary with him.

These and numerous other slips could have been corrected by the editor without by any means exceeding his duties. He might also, where charges are brought against other writers, have consulted the works of the latter, and restricted the accusations to such as can be maintained. Thus the author is right in charging Bruce with anachronism when he implies that an author whose work appeared in 1650 could have mentioned an event which occurred in 1717 (ii, p. 343); but when he calls Bruce's observation "un reproche méchamment absurde", reference to Bruce's work shows that Bruce makes no reproach, but is endeavouring to find an honourable reason for the silence of the earlier writer. Another charge brought against Bruce, in connection with the discovery of the source of the Blue Nile, also requires modification. Bruce endeavours to show that Paez, "a man of genius," made no claim to the discovery; the work of Paez, which has only recently been published, shows that Bruce was mistaken; but he does not call Paez and d'Almeida (whom he does not even mention) "vils fanatiques et imposteurs". And if this sort of charge is permissible, what is to be said of the statement (ii, 200) that Paez discovered the source of the Nile in 1642, when on p. 206 we are told that Paez died in 1622? Instead of calling Father Coulbeaux "a vile impostor and fanatic" for making Paez discover the source of the Blue Nile twenty years after his own death, and some eighteen years after it had been seen by Father Lobo, we should think it saner to charge Father Baeteman with having allowed a rather serious misprint to escape him.

Misprints indeed abound, but it is unwise to be hard on these. It is, however, surprising that the editor's curiosity should not have been aroused by the Crusaders' taking of Jerusalem being dated 999 (i, 245), and on the same page "le nouveau Calife Afdal" being immediately after called

"Le vizir". He could not well have been both, and, in fact, was neither. Similarly (i, 96), we read with astonishment, "Vers le vii^e siecle avant Jésus-Christ, aurait eu lieu une grande immigration juive (into Abyssinia) d'après Strabon et Pline, du temps de Nabuchodonosor." Pliny's work has been elaborately indexed, but does not appear to contain the name of this Babylonian king; Strabo mentions Nabocodrosoros, but merely says that he got as far as the Pillars of Heracles. Neither appears to attest this great Jewish immigration. Surely some reference or note would have been desirable.

It is, therefore, to be regretted that the editor of this book should have allowed it to appear in a form which renders it difficult to bestow on it the commendation which it would naturally be a pleasure to render to a posthumous work, which, though often fanatical, and in the reviewer's judgment uncritical, is clearly the product of industrious research.

D. S. M.

THE COMMENTARY OF RABBI MEYUCHAS B. ELIJAH ON THE PENTATEUCH (EXODUS). Edited by Professor A. W. GREENUP. 8 × 6, 142 pp. Budapest: Typis Kohn Mór Vácz (Hungaria). 1929.

The author of the above-mentioned Commentary was a native of the Byzantine Empire and flourished in the twelfth century. Otherwise nothing is at present known about his personality and literary activity. Only two quotations from his work are recorded by a later author. Although as to importance and comprehensiveness the work cannot be compared with those of his great predecessors, it has two distinguishing features of its own which, in spite of lack of originality, not only justify its preservation, but also its publication. The aim of the author was to provide a popular as well as instructive exposition of the language and laws of Exodus. His grammatical notes are, on the whole, sound, and carry the impression that he had been an eager student of Abraham b. Ezra's writings. The other feature is a

pronounced tendency to discuss in detail the ritual laws of Exodus. For this purpose he inserted large extracts from rabbinic literature. It seems that he wrote for a public which, in his opinion, lacked access to basic works for such study. The edition testifies the thoroughness and competence which is to be expected from a scholar of Professor Greenup's attainments. The brief preface gives everything about the author and his work. An English Introduction and explanatory notes would have made the book more palatable to modern readers. A special article to fill this gap would certainly be welcome.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

THE KUMZARI DIALECT OF THE SHIHUH TRIBE, ARABIA, AND A VOCABULARY. By BERTRAM THOMAS. Asiatic Society Monographs, Vol. XXI. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, 70 pp. London: Royal Asiatic Society, 74 Grosvenor Street, W. 1, 1930. 2*s*. 6*d*.

Descriptions of modern Iranian dialects are always of interest to the philologist, and from this point of view we can welcome the publication of the material collected by Mr. Thomas.

This monograph, the first attempt to furnish a full account of the Kumzari dialect, contains a brief morphology, followed by an English–Kumzari vocabulary, pp. 19–57. A series of additional notes forms the substance of the remainder of the paper.

The form of the monograph cannot be considered altogether happy. It was clearly composed in the first place without any knowledge of Iranian philology. The author accordingly attempted explanations of an Iranian dialect on the basis of Arabic, as, for example, on p. 10: "Taking the 3rd person singular past tense (as in Arabic) as a basis . . ." he arrives at a triliteral verb. This results in a completely wrong treatment of Kumzari. An attempt to correct these mistakes is made in the notes, p. 59 ff.

One or two remarks can be offered on the language. On p. 11 and p. 65 a verbal form *-seh* is quoted as a past participle, to which corresponds a plural *-sin*. The form is clearly *-s-* with the 3rd sing. and 3rd plur. respectively of the verb "to be". Hence *gurseh*, *gursin* correspond to Mid. Iran. (Western), *krd 'st krd 'nd* **kirδ-ast* **kirδ-and*; *zāseh* "born", p. 22, represents **zāδ-ast*; *akhar buseh* "late", p. 35, has *buseh* representing **būδ-ast*. It would seem that before a vowel Mid. Iran. δ < Old Iran. *-t-* is represented by *-s-*, probably through a voiced *-z-*. Final Mid. Iran. -δ appears as *-r*, e.g. in *bur* "happened", p. 32 < Mid. Iran. **būδ*, cf. *spīr* "white" < **spēδ*. In *karam* "which", however, we seem to have *-r-* < δ intervocalic, Pahl. *kt'm* **kaδām*.

The phonology, which is not treated in the monograph, offers some interesting developments. From *-ă-* we have *ai* (= *āi*, see p. 18) and *ay* (= *ēi*, p. 18), as in *raisid* "he arrived", p. 20, *bizaina* "he strikes", from *zan-*, *tikayna* "he digs", p. 27, from *kan-*, *gayp* "big", p. 21, cf. Bakhtiārī *ġap*. Mid. Iran. *-ar* final results in *-ōr*: *khōr* "donkey", *dōr* "door", *sōr* "head", *indōr* "inside"; before a consonant we find *ur-*: *gurm* "hot", *murtk* "man", *urzen* "cheap", *dur* "pain" from **durd*, NPers. *dard*. Mid. Iran. *-ō-* is preserved in *gōsh* "ear", *gōsht* "meat". *Nayzik*, p. 39 (*naysik*, p. 68) "near" presents us with the development *z* < *zd*, which can be traced already in Pahlavi.

The 3rd sing. past with *-ish* is the regular development of the Mid. Iran. construction, e.g. Pahl. *-aš kart* "by him was made" = "he made". Hence *danadish*, p. 53, 69, is more probably past tense *dānād-iš* "he knew", for the *-ād* cf. MPT. *z'n'd* "known", **zānāδ*.

It would be interesting to have more of this dialect; in particular some consecutive sentences would present us with a clearer idea of Kumzari.

H. W. B.

Études sur l'Art médiéval en Géorgie et en Arménie. By Jurgis Baltrušaitis. Preface by Henri Focillon. 13 × 10, pp. 109, figs. 120, pl. 101. Paris: Leroux, 1929.

This is not a general account of Georgian and Armenian mediaeval art, as the title might seem to promise, but is limited to the arts of building, sculpture, architectural ornament. It is a valuable contribution to the study of a subject of great importance, and the preface, by M. Focillon, clearly and briefly indicates the conclusions arrived at. Even in our own day it has been the almost invariable rule to attribute anything in the philological, artistic, and general cultural fields, which Transcaucasia seemed to have in common with Greece or Byzantium, to the latter as the country of origin. M. Focillon (p. xi) reminds us that it may sometimes be well to ask what Transcaucasia has given to the West. Over 100 of the photographs reproduced are due to M. Baltrušaitis, and are of recent date; for comparison, in order to show the striking similarity with Romanesque and other styles in France, there are also photographs from Angers, Angoulême, Conques, Nersac, Pont l'Abbé, Saint-Lizier, and Saumur; and Rosheim (in Alsace) might well have been included.

The most interesting part of the book is perhaps the first chapter, "L'entrelacs en Transcaucasie," which is very thorough and not only sets out the fundamental distinction between Georgian ("décor homogène") and Armenian ("entre-croisement") interlacing patterns, but carries the question back through Hittite examples to the matting, plaits, and basket-work of primitive mankind. The second chapter, on Georgian ornament as a link between the Islamic and Romanesque styles, is very fully illustrated in the text. Figure sculpture is described in chapter iii. We find in it: "une pure plastique, indifférente à la nature. Mais en même temps, ou découvre dans la violation de la norme un moyen d'expression inédit. Un nouveau langage, d'une puissance extrême, prend naissance." The fourth, and last, chapter is

entitled "Caractères atectoniques de l'architecture et du décor en Géorgie": it shows that while in Romanesque ornament is subordinate to architecture, in Georgia ornament is much more independent of the surface on which it is carried—"il déborde souvent les limites de l'assise . . . il devient hors-d'œuvre, placage, élément incrusté . . . l'édifice n'est plus bâtisse, mais bijou, coffret précieux, richement décoré . . . l'ensemble ornemental se présente comme une broderie continue". According to M. Baltrušaitis, all decoration in Georgia is like a garment made to cover a body, and in old Georgian texts the word *perangi* (meaning shirt) is the word used to describe the external garnishment of a building. Distinguished Georgian and Armenian scholars have collaborated in the preparation of this handsome book, which is of permanent value and well worthy of the attention of all who are interested in architecture, sculpture, and ornament. There are some small misprints, e.g. Anamour (for Ananur) on pp. 43 and 60, and the spellings Mzhet, Mzhotha (? Mchatta, p. xiii), Nicorzminda are unsuitable in a book written in French, though they would be right in German. There might have been more references to previous literature connected with the subject, e.g. to the very full description and photographic survey of Mtzkhet cathedral published by Natroev in 1900, but we must be thankful for this solid piece of new work full of pregnant suggestions and furnishing a record of the present state of beautiful buildings, some of which are now perishing from neglect.

O. W.

RECHERCHES SUR LE COMMERCE GÉNOIS DANS LA MER NOIRE AU XIIIE SIÈCLE. By G. I. BRATIANU. 10 × 6½, pp. 359, pl. 5, map. 1. Paris: Geuthner, 1929. 75 francs.

Dr. Bratianu, Professor at Jassy, began the serious study of Genoese trade in the Black Sea eight years ago, in connection with the Conference at Genoa in 1922, with the special object of collecting material for a history of the Genoese colony at

Pera in the fourteenth century, but he found so much in the notarial registers of Pera and Caffa that he was led to enlarge his field of work and deal with all the settlements on the Euxine coast and concentrate on the earlier and less known period which forms his present theme.

After a brief survey of trade in the Black Sea in the ancient world and the early Middle Ages, and a general sketch of Genoese expansion in the Levant and the settlements in Constantinople and Pera, and the rivality of Venice, the author describes the state of the trade in the Byzantine Empire and then (chap. v) deals with the eastern end of the sea (Trebizond, Persia, Armenia, the Caucasus), the colonies in the Crimea (chap. vi), the Dominican missions in 1235, and Ruysbroek's journey of 1253, the Franciscans at Caffa, trade routes to the Far East and Far North, Circassia, the grain trade. The last section (chap. vii) tells of the war with Venice (1293–9), the eastern allies of the two republics, the destruction of Pera in 1296, and its re-establishment and the revival of hostility.

The Appendix is in three sections. The first is on the country which Marco Polo calls "Lac" (otherwise, in other authors, Aulak, Illac, Blac, etc.), and which commentators have situated in various regions far apart, e.g. Wallachia, the north-west of Russia, the Urals. Dr. Bratianu, on the evidence of certain notarial acts, connected with the purchase of slaves, transcribed at Caffa and almost contemporary with Marco Polo, now continues the investigations, of which he published some account at Jassy in 1925, and arrives at the conclusion that the "Laks" were no other than the Lesghians (in Georgian *Leci*), the people in Central Daghestan still called Laki or Kazikumukh, who are frequently mentioned in texts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and played a certain part in history at the time of the great Mongol invasion, e.g. a force of Lesghians helped Queen Rusudan of Georgia against Djelal'eddin. The second appendix gives 22 Latin documents, dated 1274 to 1296, and the book ends with a chronological

list of those Genoese who held the offices of Podestà in Constantinople from 1264 to 1304 and the Consuls known to have acted at Caffa and Trebizond.

Dr. Bratianu has made good use of the new and old materials at his disposal and has a clear, lively, pleasant style.

O. W.

CATALOGUE OF THE INDIAN COLLECTIONS IN THE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON. Part VI: MUGHAL PAINTING. By ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY, D.Sc. (Lond.), Keeper of Indian, Persian, and Muhammadan Art in the Museum. 11¼ × 8¼, pp. 114, pls. lxxv. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

In this, the latest example of his indefatigable industry, Dr. Coomaraswamy is concerned with what is now a very large and choice collection—one of the finest in the world. The Mughal paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts come mostly from three famous collections, the Goloubew, the Ross, and the Ross-Coomarawamy, but there have been other important additions. The value, accordingly, of such a catalogue as this, in which nearly half of the 317 paintings described are reproduced, is very great indeed, especially to non-Americans, who cannot easily see the originals.

It is impossible here even to mention the many treasures of Mughal art which the Museum contains, but a few may be named. There are two pages from the celebrated Ḥamzah Romance (mid-sixteenth century); a unique Rasika-priyā, of about 1600, illustrated by a Mughal artist; a signed example of the work of Jahāngīr's painter Āqā Riẓā; one of several versions (perhaps, as Dr. Coomaraswamy thinks, the original sketch) of the curious "Prince on horseback and Falconer", of which the provenance is so problematical (Dr. Coomaraswamy might perhaps have discussed Shāh Jahān's note on the example at South Kensington); the drawing of the death of 'Ināyat Khān; several great Durbār scenes; Bishan Dās's "Shāh 'Abbās and Khān i 'Ālam";

the superb "Poet" (plate 25); and some splendid examples of the work of the animal painters and portraitists of the seventeenth century.

The introduction contains a historical and critical sketch of Mughal painting, in the course of which, among other original observations, the author makes the interesting suggestion that Jahāngīr at first encouraged a more definitely Persian phase of painting than that represented by Akbar's artists. There are certainly some grounds for this view, but the phase could not have lasted long. Dr. Coomaraswamy is curiously out of sympathy with the art of Shāh Jahān's reign, for all its exquisite portraiture.

A feature of the catalogue is the notes on costume, a subject in which the author has made valuable researches. The descriptions are admirably detailed. Some of the Persian transliterations are not quite accurate.

J. V. S. WILKINSON.

KERN INSTITUTE, LEYDEN: ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDIAN ARCHÆOLOGY FOR THE YEAR 1928. Published with the aid of the Government of Netherlands India, and with the support of the Imperial Government of India. 12¼ × 9¼, pp. xi + 141, pls. 12. Leyden: E. J. Brill, Ltd., 1930.

This is the third volume of the *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology* which the present writer has the pleasure and honour of reviewing for this *Journal*. First of all, let him confess that with unstinted pleasure has he gathered, from the cover of the present volume, that this important undertaking is no longer supported only by the Government of Netherlands India, but also by the Imperial Government of India. For, a bibliography which is mainly concerned with the archæology, etc., of British India ought rightly to attract the greatest interest in that country; and it must be a great encouragement to the editors of this painstaking

work that their researches have now met with due acknowledgment from the Indian authorities.

Of the excellence of the work performed by Professor Vogel and his collaborators, Messrs. Krom, Kramers, and Fábri, there can again be only one opinion. The bibliography itself covers just about a hundred pages, and is as complete as could possibly be desired; at least would the present writer in no wise dare to suggest any amendments. Someone might wish that a few more reviews of works mentioned here might have been duly registered. But such a wish is scarcely justifiable seeing that periodicals, and with them reviews of books, are permanently multiplying, and that, by taking stock of them all, the editors of a bibliography might at last land themselves in insurmountable difficulties.

Preceding the Bibliography there is as usual an introduction dealing with excavations and other archæological researches of importance within India and neighbouring countries. The greatest interest, no doubt, will attach itself to the first chapter dealing with Sir John Marshall's excavations at Taxila which, *inter alia*, seem in a curious way to corroborate the tale, hitherto considered as fanciful, of Apollonius of Tyana visiting that great capital during the earlier half of the first century A.D. That Taxila was, at least, since the time of Alexander, and probably long before that, an all-important centre of the north-west, has long been known from literature; and this has now been fully ascertained through the magnificent discoveries of Sir John Marshall and his collaborators. Not the least interesting is the hoard of silver vessels and of precious ornaments discovered during 1926–7, and of which plates ii and iii bring excellent pictures. That a statuette of the child god Harpokrates should have been found at Taxila is another proof of the intimate relations between East and West about the beginning of our era.

The French excavations at Haḍḍa, situated slightly to the south of Jalālābād, have brought to light many important discoveries. Magnificent stucco figures are pictured in

plates iv and v; the head of a Buddhist monk (pl. v f.) in reality seems worthy of a Roman Caesar. Great interest is also aroused by the chapters dealing with Sir Aurel Stein's expeditions in Balūčistān (1927–8), on which a Memoir from the pen of this truly indefatigable explorer is shortly to be expected. The wooden walls of Pāṭaliputra are less imposing than the foundations of Taxila or the great stūpas of the North-West, but perhaps not less important for the history of India. Further chapters deal with the excavations at Nālandā and with the brick temple of Pahāṛpur where very interesting sculptured stone panels have been brought to light. Special paragraphs, in this as in previous volumes, deal with new finds in Burma, Indonesia, and Iran, and thus a complete survey of India and surrounding countries is brought to a happy end.

Nothing need be added to this rapid sketch of the contents of this magnificent volume. We have only to look forward, with grateful expectation, to the next addition to this splendid series, and meanwhile to testify once more to the profound obligation under which Professor Vogel and his collaborators have laid all their fellow-scholars.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

THE SAYCE AND H. WELD COLLECTION IN THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM. Sumerian Contracts from Nippur. By G. R. HUNTER. 12 × 9½, pp. viii + 45, pls. 46. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1930. 12*s*.

Mr. Hunter has published the text and translation of twenty-one contract tablets of the class edited by Meissner in 1893 in his *Beiträge zum Altbabylonischen Privatrechts*, many of which latter came from Erech. Most of the present texts Mr. Hunter thinks came from Nippur, on account of the similarity of the formulæ and some of the names of the people mentioned therein. On the first grounds it is by no means certain that Nippur could be claimed as their provenance, because the phrases used are much the same as

in the Erech tablets; but on the second the author is fully justified, the names definitely recurring in Poebel's edition of several Nippur tablets (*Pennsylvania, Bab. Exp.*, vi, 2). The texts are clearly written, the translations are carefully made, and the notes (particularly the one on *sibta*) helpful. Naturally there is not much fresh to be gleaned from them, owing to the publication of similar texts, but they are an interesting group.

R. C. T.

Bericht über die von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien auf gemeinsame Kosten mit Dr. Wilhelm Pelizaeus unternommen Grabungen auf dem Friedhof des alten Reiches bei den Pyramiden von Giza. Band I, Die Mastabas der IV Dynastie auf dem Westfriedhof, in Verbindung mit K. Holey herausgegeben von Hermann Junker. 12 × 9½, pp. x + 282, plates 44, illustrations 65.

The appearance of this book is of the highest importance to all archæologists, for it is the first volume of the series in which the German excavations in the west portion of the Gizeh necropolis, which began in 1912, are to be published. Its importance is also greatly increased by the fact that it may be hailed as the first full and systematic publication of the Old Kingdom mastabas of Gizeh which has yet appeared, although excavations have been conducted in the pyramid area by various other expeditions for a number of years.

The amazing wealth of studied detail with which Dr. Junker and his colleagues have presented us renders any exhaustive review of the book an impossibility, and it will therefore suffice to describe the main lines on which the work is compiled, leaving the student to examine the mass of material for himself. The volume, as the title shows, is confined to an account of those mastabas which are contemporary with the pyramid builders, that is of the Fourth Dynasty, and begins with a description by K. Holey of the plateau on which the

Gîzeh cemetery lies, illustrated by a sectional survey plan (Abb. 2).

Dr. Junker then proceeds to examine with great thoroughness the evidence for dating the mastabas, his most striking point being that the use of the names of the pyramid builders in the compound names of private persons and of villages is no proof of contemporaneity with those monarchs, but that they were in use long after their death. From page 14 onwards is found a detailed description of the normal Fourth Dynasty mastaba, its several parts being illustrated by excellent plans and drawings, and on page 23 Dr. Junker opens a very interesting discussion as to the probable origin of the rectangular tablet showing the dead man sitting before his table of food. This tablet is found standing free as an independent thing only at Gîzeh; elsewhere it is always inserted above the false door. Hence we must ask whether the tablet has been taken out of the false door and set up alone for the first time during the Fourth Dynasty, or whether it was originally independent and was later inserted into the false door. The answer seems to be that the tablet itself is directly descended from the stelæ of the courtiers at Abydos, which belong to the first two dynasties, and that the insertion above the false door was a secondary development.

The Gîzeh tablets are then described and discussed in great detail, their scenes and inscriptions and the execution of the same receiving a lengthy treatment, after which we pass on to the shaft and subterranean tomb-chambers and eventually to the sarcophagus itself.

On pages 57 ff. Dr. Junker deals with the now well-known reserve heads, and their significance as part of the tomb equipment. These magnificent portraits (see pls. xii–xiv) are among the finest works of art which have come down to us from the Old Kingdom, and many years ago Naville in *Ä.Z.* 48, p. 107 ff., endeavoured to connect them with the "Chapter of the mysterious head" No. CLI B in the Book

of the Dead." As Dr. Junker shows, however, although probably arising as the result of a parallel line of thought, the "mysterious head" owing to its form as shown in amulets and vignettes cannot be truly said to be a development of the "reserve heads" of Gizeh. With regard to the actual significance of these "reserve heads" the writer clearly proves that it was the same as that of the funerary statue, but whereas the latter stood in a serdâb above ground, the stone head was placed actually in the tomb-chamber, looking out of its windows pierced in the slab before it. The soul returning to the tomb after absence would flutter down the shaft, recognize the head through the openings, and pass in to reabsorb itself in the body.

We now pass on to a discussion of the style of Fourth Dynasty mastabas, their relation to the architectural history of the earlier dynasties, and eventually to an elaborate "bauliche Analyse" of the excavated area, and an account of the pottery and other objects found in the tombs. Last of all comes an exhaustive record of each individual mastaba and its contents.

The whole book is illustrated by a series of splendid photographs of the streets in that veritable city of the dead, and of the many fine examples of Old Kingdom art found there. Among them the statue of the fat prince Ḥemiunu (pl. xix ff.) cannot fail to excite our admiration and regard. Dr. Junker and his colleagues have produced a first-class work at the cost of what can only have been immense labour and application, and this published result will certainly remain a standard reference book of the archæology of the Fourth Dynasty.

ALAN W. SHORTER.

DICTIONNAIRE AMARIGNA-FRANÇAIS SUIVI D'UN VOCABULAIRE FRANÇAIS-AMARIGNA. By J. BAETEMAN, Missionaire Lazariste. Dire-douua (Ethipoie) Imprimerie Saint Lazare des R. P. Capucins. 1929.

The dictionaries accessible to the student of Amharic prior to the publication of this work were the *Vocabulario* of

the distinguished Orientalist, I. Guidi, and the unfinished work of Armbruster. Father Baeteman's *Dictionary* is very much more copious than the former, as indeed appears from a comparison of the pages of the two; the author estimates the excess at 5,000 words. Many of the words are illustrated by proverbs, and in a certain number of cases the pronunciation is given in roman characters. The arrangement of the derivatives under their roots and the typography leave nothing to be desired. Further, the price, 100 francs, is exceedingly moderate. The French-Amharic Vocabulary appended is also very copious, and differs from the *Dictionary* in furnishing no grammatical information about the French words; probably it is intended for Europeans rather than for Abyssinians. The author is to be congratulated on having substantially furthered the study of this difficult but interesting language by producing what is likely to be the favourite dictionary for many years.

D. S. M.

OBITUARY NOTICE

Eduard Sachau

Eduard Sachau was born 20th July, 1845, at Neumünster in Holstein. He studied Oriental and Semitic philology at the Universities of Kiel and Leipzig. In 1867 he obtained at Leipzig the degree of Dr. Phil. with his thesis *Ǧawâlîqî's Almu'arrab* (Leipzig, 1867). In 1869 he became "ausserordentlicher", and in 1872 "ordentlicher" professor of Semitic languages at the University of Vienna. In 1876 he was called to Berlin, to the chair which before him such men as Friedrich Rückert and Emil Roediger had occupied. In 1887 he also became Director of the newly founded "Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen" at Berlin. He retained these two posts until he retired in 1920.

In 1879–80 he travelled in Syria and Mesopotamia, and in 1897–8 in Babylonia and Assyria.

He received many honours for his work. The Prussian Government gave him the title of "Geheimer Regierungsrat", and in 1906 of "Geheimer Oberregierungsrat". Prussia and other countries presented him with decorations. Besides this, he was a member of the Prussian Academy of Sciences and corresponding member of the British Academy and of the Academies of St. Petersburg and Vienna, Dr. jur. hon. c. of the University of Leipzig, and hon. D.C.L. of Oxford.

The following are his principal works:—

Theodori Mopsuesteni fragmenta Syriaca (Syr. and Lat., 2 voll., Leipzig, 1869).

Inedita Syriaca. Eine Sammlung syr. Uebersetzungen von Schriften griech. Profanliteratur (Wien, 1870).

Chronologie orientalischer Völker von Albêrûnî (Arab., 2 voll., Leipzig, 1876–8).

The Chronology of Ancient Nations . . . of Albîrûnî. Translated (London, 1879).

Syrisch-römisches Rechtsbuch aus dem 5. Jahrhundert, herausgegeben, übersetzt und erläutert (zusammen mit K. J. Bruns, Leipzig, 1880).

Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien (Leipzig, 1883).

Alberuni's India. An Account of the Religion, Philosophy, Literature, Geography, Chronology, Astronomy, Customs, Laws, and Astrology of India about A.D. 1030. (Arab., London, 1887.)

Alberuni's India . . . An English edition, with notes and indices (2 voll., London, 1888).

Arabische Volkslieder aus Mesopotamien (Berlin, 1889).

Catalogue of the Persian, Turkish, Hindustânî, and Pushtû Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. Begun by Ed. Sachau, continued by H. Ethé (Oxford, 1889).

Muhammedanisches Recht nach schafiitischer Lehre (Stuttgart u. Berlin, 1897).

Verzeichnis der syr. Handschriften der Kgl. Bibliothek zu Berlin (2 Bdd., Berlin, 1899).

Am Euphrat und Tigris. Reisebericht (Leipzig, 1900).

Syrische Rechtsbücher herausgegeben und übersetzt (3 Teile, Berlin, 1907, 1908, 1914).

"Drei aramäische Papyrus-Urkunden aus Elefantine" (1907, in *den Abhandlungen der Preus. Akademie der Wissenschaften*).

Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus einer jüdischen Militär-Kolonie zu Elephantine aus dem 5. *Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (2 Bdd., Leipzig, 1911).

Sachau also directed :—

The editing of Ibn Saad's *Biographien Muhammeds, seiner Gefährten und der späteren Träger des Islams* (Leiden, 1905 ff.; he himself contributed Vol. III, 1, and the Indices).

The publication of the *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen* (Berlin, 1898–1920); and

The publication of the *Archiv. für das Studium deutscher Kolonialsprachen* (Berlin, 1902 ff.).

A. F.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

From *The Times*, Friday, 14th November, 1930:—

"PERSIAN PAINTING

"The first of two lectures organized by the Royal Asiatic Society in connection with the Persian Art Exhibition was given yesterday afternoon at the Society's rooms, 74 Grosvenor Street, W.1, by Mr. J. V. S. Wilkinson. He spoke of the characteristics of Persian illustrated manuscripts and of the various arts of the book; also of the position of the artist in ancient Persia, who laboured under the disadvantage of belonging to a profession which was condemned by the theologians, and was one of a team of book-craftsmen, not a free agent. The lecturer accepted the fourfold division of periods or schools of Persian painting, though the first of these, the Abbasèd, had nothing specifically Persian about it, being opposed to later developments; and the Mongolian, the Timurid, and the Safavid schools were not rigidly marked off from each other, for survivals of older traditions were always liable to occur. He illustrated from lantern slides how certain motives descended from pre-Islamic times, and were modified successively in each age. By decorative sketches and portraits he showed the changes that occurred when painting was no longer confined to manuscripts, and was deprived of its brilliant colouring."

PERSIAN CARPETS

The second of two lectures organized by the Royal Asiatic Society in connection with the Persian Art Exhibition, was given on Thursday, 11th December, at the Society's rooms, 74 Grosvenor Street. W. 1, by Lieut.-Colonel W. G. Grey.

The lecturer began by explaining the difficulties met with by anyone who tries to obtain accurate information on the subject of Persian carpets. Firstly, most Persian gentlemen care nothing for the points which are most important in the

eyes of European collectors, and are consequently ignorant when asked about them. Secondly, dealers cannot be expected to give information to those who are likely to use it to their disadvantage. Thirdly, most of the various books that have been written about carpets are incomplete and frequently inaccurate. He sketched briefly the history of the carpet industry in Persia, and described the method of weaving. He went on to give an account of the dyes used; referring to the superiority of vegetable and animal over chemical and mineral dyes, explaining the result of the use of aniline in a carpet. Advice as to the careful examination of pieces before making purchases followed, with some hints on testing for aniline.

The lecturer then proceeded to give some account of certain centres of the carpet industry in Persia, notably, Khurasan, Kirman, Kashan, Shiraz, Isfahan, and Saruq, with reference to the patterns and designs peculiar to each. He emphasized certain points of difference between ancient and modern weaves, in the course of which slides of several very fine old carpets which are to be on view at the approaching exhibition of Persian Art were shown on the screen, with some description of each. Among these were the world-famous "Ardebil" carpet, dating from A.D. 1540, with its millions of "knots", wonderful colours, and exquisite tracing; the eighteenth century "Garden" carpet with its curious design; the "Vase" carpet of the late sixteenth century; the "Animal" carpet of the same date, with its winged figures showing traces of Chinese influence, and others.

Turning to Transcaspian carpets, the lecturer pointed out that it was strictly speaking incorrect to call these after localities; that they should be named after the tribes by which they are made, and that, for instance, there was no such thing as a "Bokhara" carpet. He referred to the tribes by which various types are made, and explained that Transcaspian weaves did not, as a rule, last as long as those woven in Persia, owing to their constant removal from place

to place when the community was on the move. He remarked that carpets were made for utility only up to the time of the Russian occupation of Transcaspia, and that the quality of these articles had deteriorated since then owing to the desirability of quick manufacture for commercial purposes.

Finally, four specimens of these weaves were shown: one, a fine Tekke rug about 100 years old, one Yamut piece of a slightly more recent date; a good specimen of a Tekke prayer rug with its rich red ground and handsome blue bars; and a saddle bag, of which the different uses were indicated.

In addition to the lecture, a number of slides were shown, together with a short description of the principal treasures which will be seen by the public at the International Exhibition of Persian Art at Burlington House in January and February next. These were kindly lent by the Chairman and Directors of the Exhibition.

Will any member give or sell to the Society *Bengal Past and Present*, vol. 2, pts. 1 and 2, 1908, complete with the coloured plate to pt. 1, also title pages to both parts and the index which were issued in a supplement.

The Librarian would be grateful for the presentation of any of the following works of which the Library is in need. Information as to the existence of copies for sale would also be welcomed:—

Bibliotheca Indica, Sanskrit, etc.: No. 4: Nīti-Sāra, fasc. 1, 1849. No. 9: Sahitya-darpana, text and transl., 1850–75. No. 11: Taittirīya, etc., Upaniṣads, 1851–5. No. 27: Sāṃkhya-pravacana-bhāṣya, 1854–6. No. 32: Sūrya-siddhānta, etc., 1860–2. No. 102: Nārada-smṛti, 1885–6.

China Branch R.A.S., *Transactions*, pts. v–vii, 1855–9.

Giornale Società Asiatica Italiana. Nuova Série, vol. 1, fasc. 1, 1926.

Journal of the Indian Archipelago, vol. ix, Nos. 1, 2, 3.

K. Bataviaasch Genootschap Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- en Volkenkunde, Deel 59, afl. 1, 2.

Le Muséon, Nouvelle série, vols. iv, v, vi, and from vol. x to the end of the series, about 1915.

North Indian Notes and Queries, vols. 4–5, 1894– ?

Numismatic Chronicle, vol. ii, No. 5; vol. iii, Nos. 11, 12; New Ser., Nos. 9, 10, 1863; *Proceedings* from the beginning.

Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Ancient Egyptian Art*, vol. i, 1883.

Phœnix, The, vol. iii, No. 27, Sept. 1872.

Sudan Notes and Records, vol. i, No. 2; vol. ii, No. 1.

Toyo-Gakuho, vol. xiii, No. 1.

Vienna Oriental Journal, vol. xxix, pts. iii, iv.

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, vol. viii.

NOTICE

The Quarterly Numbers of the *Journal of the R.A.S.* are forwarded to subscribers about the 11th of January, April, July, and October respectively in each year. Should a volume not be received within a reasonable time after the prescribed date, notification should be sent to the Secretary of the Society as early as possible, but, at any rate, by the end of the quarter concerned. Should such notice not be received by the Secretary within six months of the first day of the quarter for which the volume has been issued, the onus cannot be admitted, and the volume cannot be replaced.

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS

The British Museum Quarterly. Vol. v, No. 2, September, 1930.

The Chester-Beatty Egyptian Papyri.
Old Kingdom Faïence and other Objects.
The Maxwell Bequest of Egyptian Antiquities.
Recent Egyptian and Assyrian Acquisitions.
A Portrait Mohur of Akbar.
The Harvey Hadden Gift of Oriental Ceramics.
Japanese prints and Persian miniatures.

The Geographical Journal. Vol. lxxvi, No. 4, 1930.

Nesbitt, L. M. Danakil traversed from South to North in 1928. Supplement to the *Geographical Journal*, No. 32, July, 1930.

Vol. lxxvi, No. 5, 1930.

Horsfield, George, and Conway, Agnes. Historical and Topographical notes on Edom: with an account of the first excavations at Petra.
Nesbitt, L. M. Danakil traversed from South to North in 1928. Part ii.

Vol. lxxvi, No. 6, 1930.

Trinkler, Emil. Exploration in the Eastern Karakoram and the Western Kunlun.

Journal of the Royal Society of Arts. No. 4071, vol. lxxix, 28th November, 1930.

Binyon, Laurence, LL.D. Persian Painting.

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute. Vol. lx, 1930.

Mackay, E. Painted Pottery in Modern Sind.
Blackwood, B. Racial Differences in Skin-colour as recorded by the Colour Top.

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society. Vol. xx, No. 4, 1930.

Rama Shatma, M. H. Vestiges of Kummata.
Venkatramiah, D. Svetasvataropanishad.
Ramaswami Aiyar, L. V. Studies in Dravidic Linguistics.

The Antiquaries Journal. Vol. x, No. 4, October, 1930.

Woolley, C. L. Excavations at Ur, 1929–30.
Pryce, Davies T. Cornucopia bowls and allied vessels.

Journal of the American Oriental Society. Vol. l, No. 1, 1930.

Dougherty, R. P. The Sealand of Arabia.
Donaldson, D. M. Ibn Jubayr's visit to Al-Medina.
Barret, L. C. The Kashmiri Athatva Veda, Book xv, edited with critical notes.

Vol. l, No. 2, 1930.

Hopkins, E. Washburn. Allusions to the Rāma-Story in the Mahābhārata.

Vol. l, No. 3, 1930.

Spoer, H. H. and Haddad, E. N. Folklore and Songs from El-Qubēbe.
Youtie, H. C. A Gnostic Amulet with an Aramaic Inscription.
Coomaraswamy, A. K. Pali Kaṇṇikā = Circular roof-plate.
Miles, G. C. Turkish "pala" "Sword" and its derivatives.

Sudan Notes and Records. Vol. xiii, Pt. 1, 1930.

Wingate, Major F. R. The Siege and Fall of Khartoum, with map.
Seligman, C. C. and Brenda. Note on the History and Present Condition of the Beni Amer (Southern Beja).
Larken, Major P. M. Two Texts from Kordofan.
Hillelson, S. Nubian Origin.

Islamica. Vol. iii, Fasc. 5.

Castrel, Werner. Aijām al-'Arab. Studien zur altarabischen Epik.

Vol. iv, Fasc. 2.

Ebermann, W. Bericht über die Arabischen Studien in Russland während den Jahre 1921–27.
Colin, G. S. Notes sur l'Arabe d'Aragon.
Brockelmann, C. Ein neues südtürkisches Sprachdenkmal.
Fischer, A. Drei Gedichte von Terfig Fikret und zwei von Mehmed 'Ākif.

Vol. iv, Fasc. 3.

Ebermann, W. Bericht über die arabischen Studien in Russland während den Jahre 1921–27.
Margoliouth, D. S. and Holmyard, E. J. Arabic Documents from the Monneret Collection.
Krenkow, F. Das Wörterbuch der Dichter Mu'ğam aš-šu'arā' von al-Marzubani.
Bergsträsser, G. Zur Methode der Figh-Forschung.

Academia Sinica. Bulletin of the National Research Institute of History and Philology. Pt. i, 1929.

Preliminary Reports of Excavations at Anyang.

Academia Sinica. Bulletin of the National Research Institute of History and Philology. Vol. i, Pt. ii, 1930.

Notes on Sanang-Setsen's "Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen".

The Tone Calculator: a simple instrument for the mensuration of the Tones.

Phonetic Notes on a Lolo Dialect and Consonant *L*.

Preface to the Catalogue of the Tun-Huang Manuscripts.

On the Chung-Kiang-Shie of Tung-Cheng-Hsien in the late years of the Ming Dynasty.

T'Oung Pao. Vol. xxvii, Pts. 2–3, 1930.

Ligeti, Louis. La collection Mongole Schilling von Canstadt à la bibliothèque de l'Institut.

Moule, A. C. An Introduction to the Iyü t'u chih.

Journal of the Otani Daigaku Library of Kyoto, Japan.

A Comparative Analytical Catalogue of the Kanjur Division of the Tibetan Tripitaka, edited in Peking during the K'ang-Hsi Era, and at present kept in the Library of the Otani Daigaku, Kyoto.

Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society, London. Vol. xxvii, thirty-ninth Session, 1929–30.

The Swan Song of the Portuguese in Japan, 1635–9.

The Inter-Relations between Chinese and Japanese Cultures.

The Imperial Family and Shinto.

The Tôyô Gakuho. Reports of the Oriental Society of Tôkyô, Japan. Vol. xviii, No. 4, October, 1930.

Mikami, Y. On the Development of Circle Measurement in the Ch'ing Dynasty.

Demuta, R. Derivative Suffixes of the Verbs in Manchu and Tunguse Languages.

Matsuda, H., B.G. On the Kung-yüeh, a Tu-chüeh Tribe in Central Asia.

Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan. Second Series, Vol. vi, 1929.

Batchelor, J. Helps to the Study of Ancient Place Names in Japan.

Pierson, Jan Lodewizte, jr. On the Transliteration and Transcription of the Japanese Kana, Archaic, Ancient, and Modern.

The Journal of the Siam Society. Vol. xxiii, Pt. 3, 1930.

Inventaire des Manuscrits Juridiques Siamois.

Vol. xxiv, Pt. 1, 1930.

The History of Wat Mahādhātu.

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Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-land en Volkenkunde. Deel lxx, Aflevering 1, 1930.

Veralag Raffles herdenking.
Eenige Antiquiteiten van Zuid-Celebes.
Een oude Kaart van der Oostindischen Archipel mit de eerste helft der 16de Eeuw.

The Garden's Bulletin. Straits Settlements. Vol. vi, Pt. 3, October, 1930.

The Medical Book of Malayan Medicine. Translated by Inche' Ismail, Munshi, possibly in Penang, *circa* 1886. Now edited with medical notes by J. D. Gimlette, and determination of drugs by I. H. Burkill.

Indian Antiquary. Vol. lix, Pt. dccxxxix.

Bonnerjea, Biren. The Social and Ceremonial Life of the Santals culled from various Sources.

Vol. lix, Pt. dccxl.

Hill, S. C. Origin of the Caste System in India.

Vol. lix, Pt. dccxli, June, 1930.

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Charpentier, J. Some Remarks on the Bhagavadgita.
Koul, Anand. Some Additions to the Lalla-Vakyani.

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Tucci, G. Bhamaha and Dinnaga.

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. New Series, vol. xxv, No. 1, 1929.

Hutton, J. H. Outline of Chang Grammar.
Kalipada, Mitra. Originals and Parallels of some Santal Folk Tales.
Sohoni, N. V. Meteorological Normals of Calcutta.
Mills, J. P. and Hutton, J. H. Ancient Monoliths of North Cachar.
Kashyap, S. R. Some Geographical Observations in Western Tibet.
Basu, Provash Chandra. Head-dress of the Hill-Tribes of Assam.
—— The Anthropometry of the Bhuiyas of Mayurbhanj.

Indian Historical Quarterly. Vol. vi, No. 1, 1930.

Barua, B. M. Old Buddhist Shrines at Bodh-Gaya.
Poussin, L. de La Vallée. The two Nirvāṇadhâtus according to the Vibhāsâ.

Bhattacharya, D. C. A Newly Discovered Copper-plate from Tipperah.

Vol. vi, No. 2, 1930.

Geiger, W. The Trustworthiness of the Mahāvamsa.
Kataki, S. S. Antiquities of Assam.

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Rajvade, V. K. Some Difficult Vedic Words.
Gupta, Miss M. Das. Sraddhā and Bhakti in Vedic Literature.
Pati, Jainath. The Indo-Aryan Invasion—A Myth.

Bengal, Past and Present. Vol. xi, Pt. 1. Serial No. 79. July–September, 1930.

Mausoleum of Assuph Khan at Rajemahel.
Letters received by the Chief of Chittagong from the Committee of Revenue during 1774.
An Account of the Sena Kings of Bengal.
Some Notes on Aurangzeb's Expeditions against Bijapur and Golcunda.
The Indian Historical Records Commission.

Journal of Indian History. Vol. ix, Pt. i, 1930.

Aiyangar, S. Krishnaswamy. Raja Desing of Gingee.

Vol. ix, Pt. ii, 1930.

Seven Days at Vijayanagara.
Gleanings from Sanskrit Literature.
History of the Reign of Shāh Jehān.
The Rise of the Mahratta Power in the South.

The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society. Vol. xvi, Pt. ii, June, 1930.

Heras, Rev. H., S.J. Rama Deva Raya II.—An Unknown Emperor of Vijayanagara.
Rajguru, Satyanarayana. Puri Copper-plate Grant of Dharmaraja (Samvat, A.D. 512 or 590).
Tripathi, Narayana, B.A. An incomplete Charter of a Somavamsi King, found at Ratnagiri.
—— Kharavela and the Madala Panji.

Man in India. Vol. x, Nos. 2 and 3., April–September, 1930.

Bhattacharjee, P. N., M.A. Folk-custom and Folk-lore of the Sylhet District in India.
Majumdar, D. N., M.A., P.A.S., The Economic Background of Social Institutions in Primitive Society.

Der Islam. Band xix, Heft 1–2, 1930.

Ritter, H. Philologika, vi.
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Ostasiatische Zeitschrift. Vol. vi, Heft. 3 and 4, 1930.

Hentze, Carl. Beiträge zu den Problemen des eurasischen Tierstyles.

Caucasica. Fasc. vi, teil i, 1930.

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Baumhauer, F. Eine anonyme Schrift über den Prinzen Heraklius von Georgien aus dem Jahre 1793.

Fasc. vi, Teil ii, 1930.

Markwart, J. Die Genealogie der Bagratiden und das Zeitalter des Mar Abas und Ps. Moses Xorenac'i.

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Bork, F., Die Geschichte des Weltbildes. Ex Oriente Lux, Bd. 3. 10 × 7. *Leipzig*, 1930. *From Herr E. Pfeiffer.*

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Catalogue of the Royal Engineers Corps Library. 9 × 6. [*Printed*] *Chatham*, 1929. *From the Secretary Institution of Royal Engineers.*

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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY'S JOURNAL

APRIL, 1931

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ERRATUM

In the January *Journal*, 1931, p. 108, l. 10, *for* Hephtalite Hunā *read* Hunā Mihirakula.

JOURNAL OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
1931
PART II.—APRIL

Restorations of Assyrian Rituals

BY CECIL J. MULLO-WEIR, B.D., D.PHIL.

I

THE text published by Lutz in *PBS.* i, 2, No. 129, is partially restored by K. 9830 + 11768, published in Gray, *The Šamaš Religious Texts*, pl. iii. This latter tablet is of great interest as belonging to the series *bît rimki* (House of Washing). The object of the prayer is to free the suppliant from witchcraft (cf. ll. 8 ff.), and the principal act of the ceremony appears to be washing with water (cf. ll. 5, 17, and 19) of purification. The prayer has some affinities with *maḳlû* and *šurpu* texts and is followed, after a short ritual, by a Sumerian prayer apparently identical with V R. 50, 1 ff. Hence, and for other reasons,[1] it is not improbable that V R. 50–1 contains the text of the ensuing portion of *bît rimki*. It is worthy of notice that the catchline of V R. 50–1 is the first line of *šurpu*, Tablet IX. The Sumerian prayer above referred to is also quoted, along with other *bît rimki* prayers, in the ritual published by Myhrman, *PBS.* i, 1, No. 15.[2]

[1] The phrase *bît rimki* (*é tú*) occurs several times, viz. Col. III, 19 f., 48 f., 54 f., 69 f.; Col. IV, 21, 28. [2] In obv. 10; cf. rev. 36. With obv. 6, cf. Gray, *Šamaš*, iii, K. 2380, catchline (probably *bît rimki*, cf. l. 9); with obv. 20, cf. *OECT*. vi, 45, 1 (*bît rimki*, Tablet IV, l. 1); with rev. 2, cf. *OECT*. vi, 50, 1 (*bît rimki*, Tablet V, 1). The ceremonial directions are also closely analogous to those of *bît rimki*, Tablets IV and V. All the prayers are to Babbar-Shamash; it is precarious to try to identify the Semitic ones since so many prayers to Shamash begin alike.

In the edition which we herewith present, the restorations in italics are from K. 9830 + 11768, conjectural restorations being in roman type.

PBS. i, 2, No. 129

. . . .

1. [mimma (?)] . . . . *ša* . . . .
   Whatsoever (?) . . . .
2. [mimma (?)[1]] . . . . *šá ina zumri-iă* [bašâ-a]
   Whatsoever . . . . is in my body.
3. [*ina lumun id*]*āti ittāti lim*[nēti lā ṭâbāti][2]
   On account of the evil of omens and signs, evil and not good,
4. . . . . *KA-KA-ŠÁ* . . . .[3]

. . . .

5. [*kima*[4]] . . *itti mê*[5] *ša zumri-iă liš-ša-ḫi-i*[ṭ-ma]
   Like . . , with the water of my body may it be removed, and
6. [*ina*[6] *muḫ-ḫi*]-*šu u la-ni-šu lil-lik* [ilu]*Šamaš ta-* . .
   Upon its head and body may it go. O Shamash, . . .
7. . . . *limnūti ana*[7] *muḫ-ḫi-šá ṭūr-ru-*[ud (?)][8]
   The evil . . . upon her head drive away.
8. [9] [[ilu]*Šamaš*] *kaššaptu*[10] *lim-ḳut-ma ana-ku lu-ut-bi*
   O Shamash, may she fall and may I arise;
9. [*ši-i*] *li-in*[11]*-ni-ḳir-ma ana-ku lu-ši-ir*
   May she be destroyed and may I walk aright;
10. [*ši*]-*i li-ir-te-si-ma ana-ku lu-bi-ib*
    May she be smitten (?),[12] and may I be pure;

[1] Variant, l. 1, appears to have *mim*[*ma*] . . . [2] Restored from var., l. 6. Var. omits ll. 3 and 4 but has a corresponding insertion after l. 7. [3] We expect *šá ina ekalli-jă u māti-jă bašâ-a*, cf. var., l. 7. [4] Restored from var., l. 2. [5] Written *ME-MEŠ*, if the copy is correct, instead of the usual *A-MEŠ*. For the restoration of this line, cf. *šurpu*, VIII, 72 f.; *maḳlû*, VII, 77 f. and 132 f.; II R. 51, 6*b* f. [6] Or *ana*? [7] Var. *a-na*. [8] Var. inserts two lines: *ina lumun idâti* [*ittāti limnēti lā ṭâbāti*], *šá ina ekalli-jă* [*u māti-jă bašâ-a*]. Cf. note 2 above; cf. l. 16. [9] With ll. 8–11, cf. *maḳlû*, II, 79 ff. [10] Var. *kaš-šap-*[*tu*]. [11] Var. omits *in*. [12] On the verb *rêsu*, see *HW*. 605*b*; Muss-Arnolt, 974*b*.

11.[1] [*ši*]-*i li-mut-ma ana-ku lu-ub-luṭ*
May she die, and may I live.

12. [*ilu Šamaš*] *ina di-ni-ka i-šá-ru-tam lul-lik*
O Shamash, by thy judgment may I walk aright.

13. [*ilu Šamaš*] *aš-šú la e [2]-pu-šá-aš-ši-im-ma i-pu-šá*
O Shamash, because (?) I did not bewitch her and she (?) bewitched,[3]

14. [*ilu Šamaš*] *aš-šú la as-ḫu-raš-ši-ma is-ḫu-ra*
O Shamash, because (?) I did not enchant her and she (?) enchanted,

15. [*lumun*]-*šú* [4] *um-ta-si ina muḫ-ḫi-šú mê a-ra*-[muk] [5]
Its evil I wash away (?); upon its head I pour water.

16. . . . *zumri-ịă ušamriṣ* (?)-*an-ni ki-ma mê* . .
. . . my body has made me ill, like water . .

17. [itti *mê šá zumri-ịă*] *amâtu* (?) *an-ni-tū iš*-[šá-ḫa-aṭ (?)]
Along with the water of my body, this thing (?) will be removed (?).

18. [mimma lim-*nu šá ina zumri-ịă*] *šêri-ịă u šer'āni-ịă ba*-[šá-a]
Whatsoever evil is in my body, my flesh, and my sinews,

19. [itti *mê šá zumri-ịă liš-šá-ḫi*]-*iṭ-ma ina zumri*-[ịă lis-si (?)]
Along with the water of my body may it be removed, and from my body may it depart.[6]

II

The prayer published in IV R. 59, No. 1, 1 ff. is partly restored by Schollmeyer, *Šamaš*, No. 33*b*, which also furnishes us with remains of the earlier portion of the prayer. The copy of this latter text (K. 2625), in Gray, *Šamaš*, plate ix, provides us further with traces of the ceremony which preceded. The following is an edition of the restored lines, the restorations

[1] Cf. IV R. 59, No. 1, *R.* 17. [2] Var. *i*. [3] The exact meaning of ll. 13 and 14 is obscure. [4] Var. *šá*. [5] Cf. Schollmeyer, *Šamaš*, 101, 31. [6] Var. continues: 20. [*inim-i*]*nim-ma šarr*[*u izakka-ar*], 21. [*inim*]-*inim-ma bît rim-ki* . . ., 22. . . . *ṣalam* (?) *kaššapti* . . . , 23. [*én sinigir*]*Babbar kur-gal-ta* [*è*(*a*)-*na-zu-šú*].

in italics being from Schollmeyer's text, while those in roman type are conjectural.

IV R. 59, No. 1

1.[1] [ilu*É-a be-lí r*]*a-bu-ú* [ana-ku amêluašipu (?)]
O Ea, my great lord, I am the incantation priest

2. [*šá* ilu*É-a ú*-ma-'] -*i-ra-an-ni*[2] . . . .
Whom Ea has sent . . . .

3. [ilu*Šamaš II mâr II ša*] *kiš-pu ù nakās napišti* . . . *ip-šu*-[šu]
O Shamash, ditto son of ditto, whom witchcraft and "cutting off of life"[3] [have seized (?)] . . his enchantment,

4. [*a-na ba-la-a*]*ṭ na-piš-ti-šu ú-pi* (?)-*ši-šu pu-uš-šu-ru*
For the life of his soul, to loosen his bewitchment,

5. [*di-ni-šu*] *da-a-ni pu-ru-us-si-e-šu pa-ra-a-si*
For the judging of his cause, for the deciding of his decision,

6. [*ina ik-ri*]-*bi u te-éš-li-ti iz-za-aš-ku*
With prayer and supplication he stands before thee.

7. [ilu*Šamaš k*]*i-bit-ka ĭl-šu li-iz-ziz tes-lit-su liḳ-bi-ku*
O Shamash, at thy command may his god stand by and speak to thee a prayer for him;

8. [ilu*Kug*]-*šu li-iz-zi-iz-ma a-ḫu-la-bi-šu liḳ-bi-ku*
May Kug-shu stand by and speak to thee intercession for him.

9. [ilu*Šamaš*] *pu-uš-šu-ru ú-pi-šu u nakās napišti itti-ka i-ba-áš-ši*
O Shamash, to loosen his bewitchment and the "cutting-off of life"[4] rests with thee;

10. [ilu*Šamaš*] *be-lí bêlu rabû-ú pa-ri-is di-ni ili u amēli at-ta*
O Shamash, my lord, great lord, the decider of the cause of god and man art thou.

[1] This line = Schollmeyer, *Šamaš*, No. 33*b*, 11. [2] Cf. King, *Magic*, 12, 99. [3] Written *zi-tar-ru-da*. It is the name of some disease.
[4] Written *zi-tar-ru-da*. It is the name of some disease.

11. [*kiš-p*]*u ru-ḫu-ú ru-*[su]*-ú lim-nu-ti u nakās napišti*[1]
The evil spell, sorcery, and witchcraft and the "cutting off of life"[2]

12. [*šá II*] *már II ip-šu* [e-p]*iš-tu kaš-šá-pu kaš-šá-ap-tum*
Which the wizard, the witch, the sorcerer, the sorceress,

13. *sa-ḫi-ru uš-*[te-pi-šu] *šá at-ta ti-du-šu-nu-ti-ma*
The enchanter, have caused to bewitch ditto the son of ditto, (they) whom thou knowest, and

14. *ma-am-*[man ilu lā idû-u šá is]*-ḫu-ru iš-te-u*
No (other) god knows, who have enchanted, sought (?), *etc.*

III

King, *Magic*, No. 59, 1 ff., is partly restored by K. 3231, obv. 1 ff., published by Langdon, *OECT*. vi, plate xxiii. We here give an edition of the restored lines, restorations in italics being from Langdon's text, while those in roman letters are conjectural.

King, *Magic*, No. 59

1. [*VII nâr*]*āti ina sikkati*[3] *iṣu* [*bi-ni*[4] *te-ḫir-ri*]
Seven rivers with a peg of tamarisk wood thou shalt dig;

2. [*VII šadā*]*-ni šá eprēti tašapp-a*[*k VII ḫarrānāti*] . . .
Seven mountains of dust thou shalt pour out; seven highways [thou shalt make (?)];

3. [*nârāt*]*i šadā-ni ḫarrānāti NUN*[5] . . . . .
The rivers, the mountains, and the highways . . . . .

---

4. [*šiptu ilušamaš*] *bêl ēlâti šaplâti pāši*[6]*-ir šamê ir*[*ṣiti*]
Incantation. O Shamash, lord of the upper and lower regions, interpreter (?) of heaven and earth,

5. [*li-ḳ*]*u-u tes-lit*[7] . . . . .
Accepter of prayer, ...

[1] Written *zi-tar-ru-dé*. [2] Written *zi-tar-ru-da*. It is the name of some disease. [3] Var. *iṣusikkati*. [4] Var. omits *iṣu*. [5] Var. has *ḫarrānā-te i-ŠÁ-SA*. [6] *BÚR*. Literally, "loosener." For this epithet of Shamash, cf. Ebeling, *Quellen*, i, 28, 14 = *RA*. 26, 40, 3. [7] Var. has *KA-LID*, i.e. *dug-áb* = *teslît*; cf. Langdon, *OECT*. vi, p. xiv.

6. [*pa-ṭir*] *bêl redû-ti* . . . . .
   Remover[1] of the persecutor, ...
7. [pa-šir (?)] *ár-ni u ma-mit ilāni* . . . .
   Loosener (?) of sin and of the ban of the gods, ...
8. [ub-lak-k]*a* ^ilu^*Šamaš kaspa ḫurāṣa NU* . . . .
   I have brought unto thee, Shamash, silver, gold, ...
9. [maḫar-ka k]*am-sa-ku a-na eṭē-ir na*[piš-ti-ia]
   Before thee I have bowed down to preserve my life.

[1] Literally, "loosener."

Orthodox Variants from old Biblical Manuscripts

By H. W. SHEPPARD

§ I

Register of MSS. and Editions

Collated fully in § III, and partially in § IV.

MSS.

My No. and Ginsburg's (1926)	British Museum *MS. No.*	*Cat. No.* (1900)	Kenn. (1780)	Wickes (1881)	Ginsburg, Introduction (1897) No.	Ginsburg, Introduction (1897) page	Date A.D.
5	*Ar. Or. 16*	118	130	—	8	500	(*c.* 1300)
7	*Add. 21161*	116	201	1	28	632	(*c.* 1120)
11	*Add. 15451*	55	—	17	25	605	(*c.* 1300)
13	*Harley 5711*	54	102	7	4	478	(*c.* 1300)
14	*Or. 2201*	52	—	—	37	667	1300
15	*Add. 9399*	120	—	12	12	553	(*c.* 1300)
17	*Add. 15250*	53	—	2	21	582	(*c.* 1280)
19	*Add. 9402*	70	—	13	14	543	1286
20	[Paris Bibl. Nat. *3*]	—	158	—	58	765	1286
22	*Harley 1528*	57	100	4	3	477	(*c.* 1280)
24	*Or. 4227*	58	—	—	50	721	(*c.* 1280)
26	*Or. 2091*	117	—	—	36	663	(*c.* 1280)
27	*Add. 9398*	119	—	—	11	526	(*c.* 1280)
34	*Add. 15252*	60	—	16	23	590	(*c.* 1380)
36	*King's 1*	56	99	3	9	512	1385
37	*Harley 5775*	121	119	9	6	494	1396
42	(Trin. Coll. Camb. *Add. MS. 11*)	—	425	—	52	734	1419
43	*Add. 15251*	61	572	15	22	586	1448
47	*Or. 2375*	147	—	—	47	704	(*c.* 1450)
52	*Or. 2628*	62	—	—	48	707	1483
56	*Or. 2451*	92	—	—	—	—	1483
64	*Harley 5715*	144	118	8	—	—	(*c.* 1250)
(My No.) *78*	*Or. 9879*	—	—	—	—	—	(*c.* 920)

Editions

	My ref.	B.M. Press Mark	Editor	Date
XIX	Ben-Ḥ.	*1900 e. 6*	Jacob Ben-Ḥayyim	1525
	Ba.	*1945 f. 22*	Baer	1880
	Gi.	*15003 c.*	Ginsburg	1926
	Kit.	*1900 c. 10*	Kittel	1905

§ II

A Few Remarks in Plain English

(1) *In General.*

In our days and in our country very little interest is taken in the contents of MSS. of the Hebrew Bible. This statement is supported by the facts of my own experience. For five

years, 1917–22, I was working among Bible MSS. in the Library at Trinity College and in the University Library at Cambridge, and for the last seven years I have been working among similar treasures in the British Museum. The Register of MSS., given above in Section I, will shew that at present I have in use what is practically the whole collection of MSS. of ancient date belonging to the Museum which contain the Hebrew Psalms, as well as *MS. 42,* kindly lent me by the Council of Trinity College, Cambridge, and *MS. 20,* reproduced as regards Psalms in photograph. And throughout all these years it has always been matter of surprise when, at rare intervals, some other scholar has applied for permission to consult some one of the many MSS. in use by me. So it is that the corner of the field in which I find myself growing old is a very lonely corner; indeed, the whole field, as well as my corner in it, cries aloud for workers, and is unheeded. By the rulers of Biblical studies in our times the field of the Hebrew MSS. of the Bible has been treated as an expanse of desert, wholly unprofitable for working, and rightly condemned to be left severely unvisited. As regards my own corner of this field, under date 11th July, 1925, the whole bulk of my own work among the Bible MSS. and Editions, itself in manuscript, was accepted by the Trustees of the British Museum, under the title "Studies in Hebrew Bible", and with the Press-mark for the whole, *Oriental 9624.* The number of volumes of notes and texts to be eventually included will be large, but the first seven volumes already catalogued and available for use by scholars are complete in themselves, in so far as they contain the whole of the Text of Psalms in Ginsburg's (1913) edition, with full tables, notes, and a complete Concordance of the accents of every word of Psalms in that edition. Already finished, and presently to be available in the same series, is the complete text of Psalms as found in *MS. 42* supplied with full apparatus of the same kind and extent. Very welcome to me will be the visit of any scholar who would care to be shewn a few among the many variants of importance in the MSS. of Hebrew Psalms.

(2) *In Particular.*

MS. 78 comes in as an entirely new witness in the case of "Ben-Asher *versus* Ben-Naphtali", that is, of "Orthodox *versus* Heterodox", for that is the real meaning of the named leaders in question. This MS., acquired by the British Museum some three years ago, is very fragmentary, but contains considerable portions of the Book of Psalms. Its date is probably not later than early Tenth Century. It is, therefore, a witness contemporary with the earliest appearance of Ben-A.–Ben.-N. lists, one of which lists is brought into court in the following section.

The work of collation of 23 MSS. and 4 editions as displayed in Section III I found very fascinating; and I regret that reasons of limited space prevent my annotating the results more fully. The MSS. fall very plainly into groups. Thus, what may be called the main Orthodox Group contains *5*, *14*, *24*, *43*, *52* (—with them often are *11* and *19*, but each of these at times shows strong independence). Of these *14* is so near to the first great Rabbinical Edition of Jacob Ben-Ḥayyim (1525), as to bear out Ginsburg's expressed opinion that it was used as a main spring by that editor. *43* breaks off in various places and cases from the Orthodox tradition, and in many things is found in close touch with *78*, both of these being found occasionally in alliance with *47* (Yemen) and *56* (Persia). Of what may be called the "Irregulars", there is a close family relationship in the accents, vowels, and minutiæ between *13*, *17*, *34*, *36*, *37*, *42*, and *64*. The last-named, alongside of *7*, *20*, and *22*, probably preserves some of the oldest accentual traditions. In both *7* and *20* certain additional accents survive, which have become obsolete elsewhere, and in *20* one accent common in the other MSS. has not yet made its appearance.

Finally I dare to predict that the Text of *78*, wherever extant, will have to be carefully considered by the Editors of any future Edition of the Psalms in Hebrew.

§ III

The Text of *MS. 78* (where extant) in all passages cited by Baer in his Ben-Asher–Ben-Naphtali List (Psalms, 1880, pp. 136–151): Collated with the contrasted columns in the same list, with 22 other MSS., and with the editions of Jacob Ben-Ḥayyim (1525), Baer (1880), Ginsburg (1926), and Kittel (1906).

(1) Table

(X signifies exact agreement. N signifies nearly-exact agreement which is noted in Part (2) of this section.)

Oriental 9879	Ref.	78	Ben-A.	Ben-N.	5	7	11	13	14	15	17	19	20	22	24	26	27	34	36	37	42	43	47	52	56	64	Ben-H.	Baer	Ginsburg	Kittel
f. 1a	Ps. 1, 2	כִּי אִם	.	.	X	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	X	X	.	.	.	X	.
		וּבְתוֹרָתוֹ	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	X	X	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	X	X	X	.	X	.	X	.
	2, 5	וּבַחֲרוֹנוֹ	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	7	אֲסַפְּרָה	X	.	X	.	.	X	X	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	X	X	X	X	.	X	X	X	X
f. 1b	11	בְּיִרְאָה	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	12	פֶּן־יֶאֱנַף	.	.	.	.	.	X	X	X	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	X	.	.	X	X	X	.	.	X	.	X	.
	3, 2	מָה־רַבּוּ	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	X	X	X	X
	8	אֶת־כָּל־אֹיְבַי	N	.	X	X	X	X	X	.	X	.	X	X	X	.	.	X	.	X	X	X	X	X	.	.	.	.	X	.
f. 2a	13, 3	עַד־אָנָה	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	X	.	.	X	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
f. 2b	14, 1	הִשְׁחִיתוּ הִתְעִיבוּ	.	.	N	.	.	.	N	.	X	.	.	.	N	.	.	.	.	N	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	2	עַל־בְּנֵי־אָדָם	.	.	X	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	X	X	.	.	X	.	X	.
f. 3b	18, 8	כִּי חָרָה	.	.	.	N	.	.	N	.	.	.	N	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	N	N	.	.	.	.	.

f. 4a	30	כִּי־בְךָ	X	.	X	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	X	.	.	.	X	.	X
f. 4b	46	וְיַחְרְגוּ	X	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	X	.	X	X	X	.	X	X	.	X	.	X	.	X	X	.	.	X	X	X
	49	מְפַלְּטִי	X	.	.	.	X	.	X	.	X	.	.	X	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	X	X	X	X	.	X	X	X	X
f. 5a	19, 2	כְּבוֹד־אֵל	X	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	X	X	X	.
	5	בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ ׀	X	.	X	X	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	X	.	X	X	.	X	X	.	X	X	X	X
	8	עֵדוּת יְהוָה	X	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.
	9	מִצְוַת יְהוָה	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.
	10	טְהוֹרָה	X	.	.	.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	.	X	X	.	.	X	X	.	X	X	.	X	X	X	X
	11	הַנֶּחֱמָדִים	.	N	X	.	.	.	X	.	X	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	X	X	.	X	.	X	.
	14	מִפֶּשַׁע	.	X	X	X	X	.	X	.	X	X	X	.	.	X	.	X	.	X	X	X	.	X	.	.	X	.	X	.
f. 5b	20, 5	יִתֶּן־לְךָ	.	X	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	X	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	X	X	X	.	X	X	X	X
	6	כָּל־מִשְׁאֲלוֹתֶיךָ	X	.	X	.	X	X	X	X	.	X	.	X	X	X	.	X	X	.	X	X	.	X	.	.	X	X	X	X
	8	בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה	.	.	.	.	X	.	N	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	X	X	.	.	.	N	.	.	N	.	X	.
f. 6a	22, 12	כִּי־אֵין	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.
	15	וְהִתְפָּרְדוּ	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
f. 6b	25	לֹא־בָזָה	X	.	X	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	X	X	.	.	X	X	X	X

Oriental 2379	Ref.	76	Ben-A.	Ben-N.	5	7	11	13	14	15	17	19	20	22	24	26	27	34	36	37	42	43	47	38	56	64	Ben-H.	Baer	Ginsburg	Kittel
f. 6b	Ps. 23, 4	קִרְאַלֵּךְ	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	N	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
f. 7a	5	דִּשַּׁנְתָּ בַשֶּׁמֶן	X	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	X	.	.	X	.	.
	24, 7	וְהִנָּשְׂאוּ	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.
	25, 2	אַל־יַעַלְצוּ	N	.	.	.	.	.	.	N	.	N	N	.	.	.	N	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	5	קִרְאַתָּה	X	.	X	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	X	.	.	X	X	X	X
f. 8a	27, 3	אֶם־תַּחֲנֶה	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	6	וְעַתָּה	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
f. 8b	28, 1	אַל־תֶּחֱרַשׁ	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	N	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	7	וּמִשִּׁירִי	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	9	וּרְעֵם	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	X	X	.	.	X	X	X	.	.	.	.	.
f. 9a	29, 4	קוֹל־יְהוָה בַּכֹּחַ	.	.	X	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	X	X	.	.	.	X	.
	6	וַיַּרְקִידֵם	X	.	X	.	X	.	X	.	X	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	X	.	X	.	.	X	.	X	X	X	X
	9	וַיֶּחֱשֹׂף	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	N	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

	30, 1	שִׁיר־חֲנֻכַּת	.	.	X	X	.	.	X	.	X	X	X	.	.	.	.	X	X	X	.	.	X	X	X	.	X	.	X	.
f. 9b	31, 3	לְצוּר מָעוֹז	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	12	וְלִשְׁכֵנַי	.	.	.	.	.	N	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
f. 10a	16	הַצִּילֵנִי	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	23	בְשַׁוְעִי	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	24	אֱהֶבוּ	N	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	N	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
f. 10b	33, 4	וְכָל־מַעֲשֵׂהוּ	N	.	X	.	X	X	X	.	X	.	.	X	.	X	.	X	X	X	X	X	.	X	X	X	X	.	X	.
f. 11a	34, 1	וַיְגָרְשֵׁהוּ	.	N	N	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	N	.	.	.	N	X	.	.	N	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	4	וּנְרוֹמְמָה	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	X	.	X	.	.	.	.	.
f. 11b	12	לְכוּ בָנִים	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	X	.	.	.	.	.
	19	וְאֶת־דַּכְּאֵי רוּחַ	.	.	.	N	.	.	X	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
f. 12a	50, 6	שֹׁפֵט הוּא	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	N	.	N	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	N	.	.	.	X	.	.
f. 13b	52, 5	מִדַּבֵּר צֶדֶק	.	.	X	.	.	X	X	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	X	X	.	.	.	X	X
f. 14a	62, 4	תְּרָצְּחוּ	X	.	.	.	.	X	X	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	X	X	X	X	.	X	X	X	X
	13	כְּמַעֲשֵׂהוּ	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	X	X	X	X	.	X	.	X	.

Oriental 9679	Ref.	78	Ben-A.	Ben-N.	5	7	11	13	14	15	17	19	20	22	24	26	27	34	36	37	42	43	47	52	56	64	Ben-H.	Baer	Ginsburg	Kittel
f. 14b	Ps. 63, 12	וְהַמֶּלֶךְ	.	X	.	N	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	64, 6	יִרְאֶה־לָּמוֹ	.	.	X	.	.	.	X	.	X	X	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	X	.	.	X	.	X	.
	11	וְיִתְהַלְלוּ	.	.	.	.	.	N	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	N	N	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
f. 15a	65, 10	וַתְּשֹׁקְקֶהָ	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
		כִּי־כֵן	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	66, 2	זַמְּרוּ כְבוֹד־שְׁמוֹ	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.
	3	יְכַחֲשׁוּ־לְךָ	.	.	.	N	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	N	.	.	.	.	.
	4	כָּל־הָאָרֶץ ׀	.	.	X	X	.	.	X	.	X	X	.	.	.	.	X	.	X	X	.	.	.	X	X	.	X	.	X	X
f. 15b	12	בָאנוּ־בָאֵשׁ	X	.	X	X	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	X	X	.	X
	15	אֶעֱשֶׂה	.	.	.	N	.	.	N	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	N	N	N	.	.	.	.	.	.
	67, 2	יָאֵר	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	X	.	.	.	.	.
f. 16a	69, 16	וְאַל־תֶּאְטַר	.	.	.	N	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
f. 16b	23	וְלִשְׁלוֹמִים	.	.	.	N	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

	25		שִׁפְּכוּ־עֲלֵיהֶם	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	28		תְּנֵה־עֲוֹן	.	.	.	.	.	X	X	X	.	.	N	N	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	X	X	.	X	X	X	X
	35		יְהַלְלוּהוּ	.	.	X	N	X	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	X	X	.	.	X	X	X	.	X	.	X	X
f. 17a	71, 2		הַטּוּרָאֵלִי	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	11	(pr.m.)	רֹדְפוּ	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
			פֹּרְאַיִן	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	X	N	.	.	.	.	.
f. 27b	72, 7		יְקֹרוּד־בְּנָמִיד	X	.	X	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	X	X	.	X	X	X	X
	12		וְאֵיד־עֹזֵר	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
f. 18a	77, 1		עַל־יְדִיתוּן	.	.	X	X	X	X	.	X	.	X	.	.	X	X	X	.	.	X	.	.	X	X	X	.	.	.	X	.
	13		וּבַעֲלִילוֹתֶיךָ	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.
f. 19b	78, 52		וַיְנַהֲגֵם	.	.	.	.	.	.	N	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	N	X	X	N	N	.	.	.	.	.
f. 20b	79, 9		וְהַצִּילֵנוּ וְכַפֵּר	.	X	X	.	.	.	X	X	X	X	.	X	X	X	.	X	.	.	X	.	.	X	.	.	X	.	X	X
	10		אֱלֹהֵיהֶם	.	X	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	X	N	.	.	.	.	.
f. 21a	92, 5		בְּמַעֲשֵׂי יָדֶיךָ	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
f. 21b	15		דְּשֵׁנִים וְרַעֲנַנִּים	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	N	.	.	.	.	.
	93, 4		אַדִּירִים מִשְׁבְּרֵי־יָם	X	.	X	X	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	X	.	X	.	X	X	.	.	.	X	X	X	X

Oriental 9879	Ref.	78	Ben-A.	Ben-N.	5	7	11	13	14	15	17	19	20	22	24	26	27	34	36	37	42	43	47	58	66	64	Ben-H.	Baer	Ginsburg	Kittel
f. 22a	Ps. 94, 4	כָּל־פֹּעֲלֵי אָוֶן	X	.	X	.	X	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	X	.	.	.	.	X	X	X	X	.	.	X	X	X	X
f. 22b	95, 6	לִפְנֵי־יְהוָה	.	.	X	.	.	.	X	X	X	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	X	X	.	X	.	X	.
	7	אִם־בְּקֹלוֹ	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	N	.	.	.	.	.
	96, 2	בַּשְּׂרוּ מִיּוֹם	.	.	X	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	X	.	.	X
	8	וּבֹאוּ	.	X	X	.	.	.	X	.	.	N	X	X	X	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	X	.	.	.	.
f. 23b	102, 14	כִּי־בָא	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	N	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.
	26	וּמַעֲשֵׂה יָדֶיךָ	.	.	X	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	X	X	X	.	.	.	.	.
f. 24a	103, 2	כָּל־גְּמוּלָיו	X	.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	4	הַמְעַטְּרֵכִי	N	.	.	.	.	.	N	N	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	X	.	X	N	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	12	הִרְחִיק	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
f. 24b	104, 9	גְּבוּל שַׂמְתָּ	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	N	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
f. 25a	106, 29	בְּמַעַלְלֵיהֶם	X	.	.	.	.	.	X	X	.	.	X	.	.	.	X	X	X	X	.	X	.	X	X	.	.	X	.	X
	32	וַיַּקְצִיפוּ	X	.	X	X	X	X	X	.	.	X	.	X	.	.	.	X	X	X	.	X	X	X	X	.	X	X	X	X
	47	וְקַבְּצֵנוּ	.	X	.	N	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

	48	בְּרִיךְ	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
f. 25b	107, 3	וּמֵאֲרָצוֹת	.	N	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	X	.	.	.	.	.
f. 26a	118, 5	הַמֵּבִינְךָ	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
f. 27a	118, 25	הוֹשִׁיעָה נָּא	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	N	N	.	.	.	N	.
f. 27b	119, 17	גְּמֹל עַל־עַבְדְּךָ	.	.	X	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	X	X	.	.	X	.	X	X
f. 28a	29	וְתוֹרָתְךָ	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
f. 28b	35	כִּי בוֹ	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	38	לְיִרְאָתֶךָ	X	.	X	.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	43	וְאַל־תַּצֵּל	.	.	N	N	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	X	.	X	X	X	X	.	X	.	X	.
	45	וְאֶתְהַלְּכָה	.	N	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	N	.	N	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	47	וְאֶשְׁתַּעֲשַׁע	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	N	.	N	N	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	48	אֶל־מִצְוֹתֶיךָ	.	N	.	.	.	.	N	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	N	.	N	N	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
f. 29a	144, 15	שֶׁכָּכָה לּוֹ	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	145, 4	וּגְבוּרֹתֶיךָ	X	.	.	X	.	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.	.	X	X	X	X
f. 29b	146, 7	עֹשֶׂה	X	.	.	X	X	X	.	.	X	.	X	.	.	.	.	X	.	X	.	X	.	.	.	.	.	X	.	.

(2) Analysis and Notes

Ps. 1, 2 כִּי אִם *78*. So *5*, *14*, *24*, *47*, *52*, *56*, Gi.

Ben-A. כִּי אִם־ Ben-N. כִּי־אִם

,, וּבְתוֹרָתוֹ *78*. So *14*, *22*, *24*, *37*, *43*, *47*, *52*, *56*, xix, Gi.

Ben-A. וּבְתוֹרָתוֹ Ben-N. וּבְתוֹרָתוֹ

Ps. 2, 5 וּבַחֲרוֹנוֹ *78*.

Ben-A. וּבַחֲרוֹנוֹ Ben-N. וּבַחֲרוֹנוֹ

7 אֲסַפְּרָה *78*. So Ben-A., *5*, *13*, *14*, *19*, *37*, *43*, *47*, *52*, *56*, xix, Ba., Gi., Kit.

Ben-N. אֲסַפְּרָה

11 בִּירְאָה *78*. So *7*. (Ben-N. בְּיִרְאָה)

Ben-A. בְּיִרְאָה

12 ׀ פֶּן־יֶאֱנַף *78*. So *13*, *14*, *15*, *24*, *36*, *43*, *52*, *56*, xix, Gi.

Ben-A. ׀ פֶּן־יֶאֱנַף Ben-N. ׀ פֶּן יֶאֱנַף

Ps. 3, 2 מָה־רַבּוּ *78*. So Ben-A., *34*, *47*, xix, Ba., Gi., Kit.

Ben-N. מָה־רַבּוּ

8 אֶת־כָּל־אֹיְבַי *78*. So *5*, *7*, *11*, *13*, *14*, *17*, *20*, *22*, *24*, *34*, *37*, *42*, *43*, *47*, *52*, *56*, Gi. ('אֹ Ben-A.)

Ben-N. אֶת־כָּל־אֹיְבַי

Ps. 13, 3 עַד־אָנָה *78*. So *7*, *15*, *20*, *26*.

Ben-A. עַד־אָנָה Ben-N. עַד־אָנָה

Ps. 14, 1 הִשְׁחִיתוּ הִתְעִיבוּ *78*. So 17. (הִשְׁחִיתוּ *5*, *14*, *24*, *37*.)

Ben-A. הִשְׁחִיתוּ הִתְעִיבוּ

Ben-N. הִשְׁחִיתוּ הִתְעִיבוּ

Ps. 14, 2 עַל־בְּנֵי־אָדָם *78*. So *5*, *14*, *24*, *43*, *47*, *52*, xix, Gi.

Ben-A. עַל־בְּנֵֽי־אָדָם

Ben-N. עַל־בְּנֵֽי־אָדָם

Ps. 18, 8 כִּי חָרָה *78*. (כִּי־חָרָה *14*, *52*, *56*.)

(כִּ֣י חָרָה Ben-A., *7*, *20*.)

Ben-N. כִּי־חָרָה

30 כִּי־בְךָ *78*. So Ben-A., *5*, *14*, *43*, *52*, Ba., Kit.

Ben-N. כִּי בְךָ

46 וְיַחְרְגוּ *78*. So Ben-A., *13*, *17*, *20*, *22*, *24*, *27*, *34*, *37*, *43*, *52*, *56*, Ba., Gi., Kit.

Ben-N. וְֽיַחְרְגוּ

49 מְפַלְטִי *78*. So Ben-A., *11*, *14*, *17*, *22*, *27*, *43*, *47*, *52*, *56*, xix, Ba., Gi., Kit.

Ben-N. מֲפַלְטִי

Ps. 19, 2 כְּבוֹד־אֵל *78*. So Ben-A., *14*, *52*, xix, Ba., Gi.

Ben-N. כְּבוֹד אֵל

5 בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ ׀ *78*. So Ben-A., *5*, *7*, *14*, *22*, *36*, *42*, *43*, *52*, *56*, Ba., Gi., Kit.

Ben-N. בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ ׀

8 עֵדוּת יְהוָה *78*. So Ben-A., *11*, Ba.

Ben-N. עֵדוּת יְהוָה

9 מִצְוַת יְהוָה *78*. So Ben-A., Ba.

Ben-N. מִצְוַת יְהוָה

10 טְהוֹרָה *78*. So Ben-A., *11*, *13*, *14*, *15*, *17*, *19*, *20*, *22*, *24*, *27*, *34*, *36*, *42*, *43*, *52*, *56*, xix, Ba., Gi., Kit.

Ben-N. טְהוֹרָה

Ps. 19, 11 הַנֶּחֱמָדִים *78*. So *5, 14, 17, 24, 37, 52, 56*, xix,
Gi. (קָ' Ben-N.)
Ben-A. הַנֶּחֱמָדִים
14 מִפֶּשַׁע *78*. So Ben-N., *5, 7, 11, 14, 17, 19, 20,*
26, 34, 37, 42, 43, 52, xix, Gi.
Ben-A. מִפֶּשַׁע

Ps. 20, 5 יִתֶּן־לְךָ *78*. So Ben-N., *14, 19, 24, 37, 47, 52,*
56, xix, Ba., Gi., Kit.
Ben-A. יִתֶּן־לְךָ
6 כָּל־מִשְׁאֲלוֹתֶיךָ *78*. So Ben-A., *5, 11, 13, 14, 15,*
19, 22, 24, 26, 34, 36, 42, 43, 52, xix, Ba., Gi.,
Kit.
Ben-N. כָּל־מִשְׁאֲלוֹתֶיךָ
8 בְּשֵׁם־יְהוָה *78*. So *11, 17, 34, 36, 37*, Gi. (בְּ' *14,*
52, xix.)
Ben-A. בְּשֵׁם־יְהוָה Ben-N. בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה

Ps. 22, 12 כִּי־אֵין *78*. So *56*.
Ben-A. כִּי אֵין Ben-N. כִּי אֵין
15 וְהִתְפָּרְדוּ *78*.
Ben-A. וְהִתְפָּרְדוּ Ben-N. וְהִתְפָּרְדוּ
25 לְאַרְבָּה *78*. So Ben-A., *5, 14, 43, 47, 52*, xix,
Ba., Gi., Kit.
Ben-N. לְאַרְבָּה

Ps. 23, 4 כִּי־אֵלֵךְ *78*. (כִּי־ *19*.)
Ben-A. כִּי־אֵלֵךְ Ben-N. כִּי־אֵלֵךְ
5 דִּשַּׁנְתָּ בַשֶּׁמֶן *78*. So Ben-A., *11, 47, 56*, Ba.
Ben-N. דִּשַּׁנְתָּ בַשֶּׁמֶן

Ps. 24, 7 וְֽהִנָּשְׂא֑וּ *78*. So Ben-A., *43*, Ba.
Ben-N. וְֽהִנָּשְׂא֑וּ

Ps. 25, 2 אַל־יַֽעַלְצ֖וּ *78*. (יַ֣ Ben-A., *15, 19, 20, 27*.)
Ben-N. אַֽל־יַעַלְצ֖וּ

5 כִּֽי־אַתָּ֨ה *78*. So Ben-A., *5*, *14, 43, 52*, xix, Ba., Gi., Kit.
Ben-N. כִּֽי אַתָּ֨ה

Ps. 27, 3 אִם־תַּחֲנֶ֬ה *78*.
Ben-A. אִם־תַּ֥חֲנֶ֬ה Ben-N. אִם־תַּחֲנֶ֬ה

6 וְעַתָּ֡ה *78*. So Ben-N., *43*.
Ben-A. וְעַתָּ֡ה

Ps. 28, 1 אַֽל־תֶּחֱרַ֪שׁ *78*. (אַל־תַּחֲרַשׁ *47*.)
Ben-A. אַל־תֶּֽחֱרַ֪שׁ Ben-N. אַֽל־תֶּחֱרַ֪שׁ

7 וּֽמִשִּׁירִ֥י *78*. So *43*.
Ben-A. וּמִשִּׁ֥ירִ֥י Ben-N. וּמִשִּׁירִ֥י

9 וּֽרְעֵ֥ם *78*. So *14, 24, 36, 37, 47, 52, 56*.
Ben-A. וְֽרְעֵ֥ם Ben-N. וּרְעֵ֥ם

Ps. 29, 4 קוֹל־יְהוָ֥ה בַּכֹּ֑חַ *78*. So *5, 14, 24, 42, 52, 56*, Gi.
Ben-A. קֽוֹל־יְהוָ֥ה בַּכֹּ֑חַ
Ben-N. קֽוֹל יְהוָ֥ה בַּכֹּ֑חַ

6 וַיַּרְקִידֵ֥ם *78*. So Ben-A., *5*, *11, 14, 17, 24, 37, 43, 56*, xix, Ba., Gi., Kit.
Ben-N. וַֽיַּרְקִידֵ֥ם

9 וַיֶּֽחֱשֹׂ֣ף *78*. (וַיֶּחֱשֹׂף *43*.)
Ben-A. וַיֶּֽחֱשֹׂ֣ף Ben-N. וַֽיֶּחֱשֹׂ֣ף

Ps. 30, 1 שִׁיר־חֲנֻכַּ֖ת *78*. So *5, 7, 14, 17, 19, 20, 34, 36, 37, 47, 52, 56*, xix, Gi.
Ben-A. שִׁ֥יר־חֲנֻכַּ֖ת Ben-N. שִׁ֥יר חֲנֻכַּ֖ת

Ps. 31, 3 לְצוּר מָעוֹז *78.*

Ben-A. לְצוּר־מָעוֹז Ben-N. לְצוּר מָעוֹז

12 וְלִשְׁכֵנַי׀ *78.* (וְלִשְׁכֵנַי׀ *13.*)

Ben-A. וְלִשְׁכֵנַי Ben-N. וְלִשְׁכֵנַי

16 הַצִּילֵנִי *78.*

Ben-A. הַצִּילֵנִי Ben-N. הַצִּילֵנִי

23 בְּשַׁוְּעִי *78.*

Ben-A. בְּשַׁוְּעִי Ben-N. בְּשַׁוְּעִי

24 אֶהֱבוּ *78.* So *47.* (אֶהֱבוּ *17.*) (אֶהֱבוּ Ben-A.)

Ben-N. אֶהֱבוּ

Ps. 33, 4 וְכָל־מַעֲשֵׂהוּ *78.* So *5, 11, 13, 14, 17, 22, 26, 34, 36, 37, 42, 43, 52, 56, 64,* xix, Gi. (מַ' Ben-A.)

Ben-N. וְכָל־מַעֲשֵׂהוּ

Ps. 34, 1 וַיְגָרְשֵׁהוּ *78.* So *37.* (Ben-N. וַיְגָרְשֵׁהוּ)

(וַיְגָרְשֵׁהוּ *5, 24, 47, 52.*) (וַיְגָרְשֵׁהוּ *34.*)

Ben-A. וַיְגָרְשֵׁהוּ

4 וּנְרוֹמְמָה *78.* So *5, 42, 47, 56.*

Ben-A. וּנְרוֹמְמָה Ben-N. וּנְרוֹמְמָה

12 לְכוּ בָנִים *78.* So *47, 56.*

Ben-A. לְכוּ־בָנִים Ben-N. לְכוּ בָנִים

19 וְאֶת־דַּכְּאֵי רוּחַ *78.* So *14, 17.* (וְאֶת־ *7.*)

Ben-A. וְאֶת־דַּכְּאֵי־רוּחַ

Ben-N. וְאֶת־דַּכְּאֵי רוּחַ

Ps. 50, 6 שֹׁפֵט הוּא *78.* So Ben-A., *34,* Ba. (שׁוֹ' *17, 20, 52.*)

Ben-N. שֹׁפֵט הוּא

Ps. 52, 5 מִדַּבֵּר צֶדֶק *78*. So *5*, *13*, *14*, *19*, *37*, *52*, *56*,
xix, Gi., Kit.
Ben-A. מִדַּבֵּר צֶדֶק Ben-N. מִדַּבֵּר צֶדֶק

Ps. 62, 4 תְּרָצְּחוּ *78*. So Ben-A., *13*, *14*, *22*, *36*, *43*, *47*,
52, *56*, xix, Ba., Gi., Kit.
Ben-N. תְּרַצְּחוּ

13 כְּמַעֲשֵׂהוּ *78*. So *14*, *37*, *43*, *47*, *52* (pr.m.), *56*,
xix, Gi.
Ben-A. כְּמַעֲשֵׂהוּ Ben-N. כְּמַעֲשֵׂהוּ

Ps. 63, 12 וְהַמֶּלֶךְ *78*. So Ben-N., *24*. ('וָ *7*.)
Ben-A. וְהַמֶּלֶךְ

Ps. 64, 6 יִרְאֶה־לָּמוֹ *78*. So *5*, *14*, *17*, *19*, *22*, *47*, *52*, xix, Gi.
Ben-A. יִרְאֶה־לָּמוֹ Ben-N. יִרְאֶה לָמוֹ

11 וְיִתְהַלְלוּ *78*. (וְיִתְהַלְלוּ *13*, *27*, *34*.)
Ben-A. וְיִתְהַלְלוּ Ben-N. וְיִתְהַלְלוּ

Ps. 65, 10 וַתְּשֹׁקְקֶהָ *78*.
Ben-A. וַתְּשֹׁקְקֶהָ Ben-N. וַתְּשֹׁקְקֶהָ

,, כִּי־כֵן *78*.
Ben-A. כִּי כֵן Ben-N. כִּי־כֵן

Ps. 66, 2 זַמְּרוּ כְבוֹד־שְׁמוֹ *78*. So *7*, *52*.
Ben-A. זַמְּרוּ כְבוֹד־שְׁמוֹ Ben-N. זַמְּרוּ כְבוֹד שְׁמוֹ

3 יְכַחֲשׁוּ־לְךָ *78*. ('יְ *7*.) (יְכַחֲשׁוּ לְךָ *56*.)
Ben-A. יְכַחֲשׁוּ־לְךָ Ben-N. יְכַחֲשׁוּ לְךָ

4 כָּל־הָאָרֶץ ׀ *78*. So *5*, *7*, *14*, *17*, *19*, *27*, *36*, *37*,
52, *56*, xix, Gi., Kit.
Ben-A. כָּל־הָאָרֶץ ׀ Ben-N. כָּל־הָאָרֶץ ׀

Ps. 66, 12 בָּאנוּ־בָאֵשׁ *78.* So Ben-A., *5, 7, 14, 47*, xix,
Ba., Kit.
Ben-N. בָּאנוּ בָאֵשׁ
15 אֶעֱשֶׂה־ *78.* (אֶעֱשֶׂה־ *7, 14, 43, 47, 52.*)
Ben-A. אֶֽעֱשֶׂה Ben-N. אֶעֱשֶׂה

Ps. 67, 2 יָאֵר־ *78.* So *47, 56.*
Ben-A. יָאֵר Ben-N. יָאֵר

Ps. 69, 16 וְאַל־תֶּאְטַר־ *78.* So *47.* (וְ, *7.*)
Ben-A. וְאַל־תֶּאְטַר Ben-N. וְאַל־תֶּאְטַר
23 וְלִשְׁלוֹמִים *78.* So 43. (וְ, *7.*)
Ben-A. וְלִשְׁלוֹמִים Ben-N. וְלִשְׁלוֹמִים
25 שְׁפָךְ־עֲלֵיהֶם *78.* So Ben-N., *43.*
Ben-A. שְׁפָךְ־עֲלֵיהֶם
28 תְּנָה־עָוֹן *78.* So *13, 14, 15, 24, 47, 52, 56*, xix,
Ba., Gi., Kit. (תְּנָה־עָוֹן *20.*) (תְּנָה עָוֹן *22.*)
Ben-A. תְּנָה־עָוֹן Ben-N. תְּנָה עָוֹן
35 יְהַלְלוּהוּ *78.* So *5, 11, 14, 24, 36, 37, 47, 52, 56*,
xix, Gi., Kit. (יְ, *7.*)
Ben-A. יְהַלְלוּהוּ Ben-N. יְהַלְלוּהוּ

Ps. 71, 2 הַטֵּה־אֵלַי *78.*
Ben-A. הַטֵּה־אֵלַי Ben-N. הַטֵּה אֵלַי
11 רִדְפוּ *78.* (pr.m. Both diacritical marks above and below the ר can be seen under erasures—cf. הִרְחִיק Ps. 103, 12 below.)
Ben-A. רִדְפוּ Ben-N. רִדְפוּ
„ כִּי־אֵין *78.* So *14, 43, 52.* (כִּי אֵין *56.*)
Ben-A. כִּי אֵין Ben-N. כִּי־אֵין

Ps. 72, 7 יִפְרַח־בְּיָמָיו *78.* So Ben-A., *5, 14, 47, 52, 56,* xix, Ba., Gi., Kit.

Ben-N. יִפְרַח בְּיָמָיו

12 וְאֵין־עֹזֵר *78.* So *43.*

Ben-A. וְאֵין־עֹזֵר Ben-N. וְאֵין עֹזֵר

Ps. 77, 1 עַל־יְדִיתוּן *78.* So *5, 7, 11, 13, 15, 19, 24, 26, 27, 37, 43, 47, 52, 56,* Gi.

Ben-A. עַל־יְדוּתוּן Ben-N. עַל־יְדוּתוּן

13 וּבַעֲלִילוֹתֶיךָ *78.* So *14, 24, 37, 52.*

Ben-A. וּבַעֲלִילוֹתֶיךָ Ben-N. וּבַעֲלִילוֹתֶיךָ

Ps. 78, 52 וַיְנַהֲגֵם *78.* So *43, 47.* (ךְ׳ *14, 42, 52, 56.*)

Ben-A. וַיְנַהֲגֵם Ben-N. וַיְנַהֲגֵם

Ps. 79, 9 וְהַצִּילֵנוּ וְכַפֵּר *78.* So Ben-N., *5, 14, 15, 17, 19, 22, 24, 26, 34, 42, 52,* xix, Gi., Kit.

Ben-A. וְהַצִּילֵנוּ וְכַפֵּר

10 אֱלֹהֵיהֶם *78.* So Ben-N., *14, 24, 47, 52.* (אֱ׳ *56.*)

Ben-A. אֱלֹהֵיהֶם

Ps. 92, 5 בְּמַעֲשֵׂי יָדֶיךָ *78.* So *5, 22, 37.*

Ben-A. בְּמַעֲשֵׂי יָדֶיךָ Ben-N. בְּמַעֲשֵׂי יָדֶיךָ

15 דְּשֵׁנִים וְרַעֲנַנִּים *78.* So *5.* (וְ׳ *56.*)

Ben-A. דְּשֵׁנִים וְרַעֲנַנִּים Ben-N. דְּשֵׁנִים וְרַעֲנַנִּים

Ps. 93, 4 אַדִּירִים מִשְׁבְּרֵי־יָם *78.* So Ben-A., *5, 7, 15, 24, 34, 37, 43, 47,* xix, Ba., Gi., Kit.

Ben-N. אַדִּירִים מִשְׁבְּרֵי יָם

Ps. 94, 4 כָּל־פֹּעֲלֵי אָוֶן *78.* So Ben-A., *5, 11, 13, 24, 26, 42, 43, 47, 52,* xix, Ba., Gi., Kit.

Ben-N. כָּל־פֹּעֲלֵי אָוֶן

Ps. 95, 6 לִפְנֵי־יְהוָה *78*. So *5*, *14*, *15*, *17*, *24*, *42*, *52*, *56*, xix, Gi.

Ben-A. לִפְנֵי־יְהוָה Ben-N. לִפְנֵי יְהוָה

7 אִם־בְּקֹלוֹ *78*.

Ben-A. אִם־בְּקֹלוֹ Ben-N. אִם־בְּקֹלוֹ

Ps. 96, 2 בַּשְּׂרוּ מִיּוֹם *78*. So *5*, *14*, *52*, xix, Kit.

Ben-A. בַּשְּׂרוּ מִיּוֹם Ben-N. בַּשְּׂרוּ מִיּוֹם

8 וּבֹאוּ *78*. So Ben-N., *5*, *14*, *20*, *22*, *24*, *27*, *47*, *64*. (בֹּאוּ *19*.)

Ben-A. וּבֹאוּ

Ps. 102, 14 כִּי־בָא *78*. So *56*. (כִּי־בָא *24*.)

Ben-A. כִּי בָא Ben-N. כִּי־בָא

26 וּמַעֲשֵׂה יָדֶיךָ *78*. So *5*, *14*, *24*, *43*, *47*, *52*, *56*.

Ben-A. וּמַעֲשֵׂה יָדֶיךָ Ben-N. וּמַעֲשֵׂה יָדֶיךָ

Ps. 103, 2 כָּל־גְּמוּלָיו *78*. So Ben-A., *5*, *7*, *11*, *13*, *14*, *15*, *17*, *19*, *20*, *22*, *24*, *26*, *34*, *36*, *37*, *42*, *43*, *47*, *52*, *56*, *64*, xix, Ba., Gi., Kit.

Ben-N. כָּל־גְּמוּלָיו

4 הַמְעַטְּרֵכִי *78*. So *17*, *34*, *37*, *43*. (הַמְ׳ Ben-A., *14*, *15*, *47*.)

Ben-N. הַמְעַטְּרֵכִי

12 הִרְחִיק *78*.

Ben-A. הִרְחִיק Ben-N. הִרְחִיק

Ps. 104, 9 גְּבַל שָׂמְתָּ 78. (גְּבַל שָׂמְתָּ 42.)

Ben-A. גְּבוּל־שַׂמְתָּ Ben-N. גְּבַל שַׂמְתָּ

Ps. 106, 29 בְּמַעַלְלֵיהֶם 78. So Ben-A., *14*, *15*, *20*, *27*, *34*, *36*, *37*, *43*, *52*, *56*, Ba., Kit.

Ben-N. בְּמַעַלְלֵיהֶם

32 וַיַּקְצִיפוּ 78. So Ben-A., *5*, *7*, *11*, *13*, *14*, *19*, *22*, *34*, *36*, *37*, *43*, *47*, *52*, *56*, xix, Ba., Gi., Kit.

Ben-N. וַיַּקְצִיפוּ

47 וְקַבְּצֵנוּ 78 (pr.m.). So Ben-N., *14* (pr.m.), *37*, *43*. (וְ', *7*.)

Ben-A. וְקַבְּצֵנוּ

48 בָּרוּךְ 78.

Ben-A. בָּרוּךְ Ben-N. בָּרוּךְ

Ps. 107, 3 וּמֵאֲרָצוֹת 78. So *5*, *47*, *56*. (וּמֵ' Ben-N.)

Ben-A. וּמֵאֲרָצוֹת

Ps. 113, 5 הַמַּגְבִּיהִי 78. (הַ' *43*.)

Ben-A. הַמַּגְבִּיהִי Ben-N. הַמַּגְבִּיהִי

Ps. 118, 25 הוֹשִׁיעָה נָּא 78. (הוֹשִׁיעָה נָּא *52*, *56*, Gi.)

Ben-A. הוֹשִׁיעָה נָּא

Ben-N. הוֹשִׁיעָה נָא

Ps. 119, 17 גְּמֹל עַל־עַבְדְּךָ 78. So *5*, *14*, *43*, *47*, *52*, xix, Gi.

Ben-A. גְּמֹל עַל־עַבְדְּךָ Ben-N. גְּמֹל עַל־עַבְדְּךָ

Ps. 119,29 וְתוֹרָתְךָ *78.*

Ben-A. וְתוֹרָֽתְךָ Ben-N. וְתֽוֹרָתְךָ

35 כִּֽי בוֹ *78.*

Ben-A. כִּֽי בוֹ Ben-N. כִּֽי בוֹ

38 לְיִרְאָתֶךָ *78.* So Ben-A., *5, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, 20, 22, 24, 26, 27, 34, 36, 37, 42, 43, 47, 52, 56, 64*, xix, Ba., Gi., Kit.

Ben-N. לְֽיִרְאָתֶךָ

43 וְאַל־תַּצֵּל *78.* So *14, 24, 37, 43, 47, 52* (pr.m.), *56*, xix, Gi. (וְ, *5, 7.*)

Ben-A. וְאַל־תַּצֵּל Ben-N. וְֽאַל־תַּצֵּל

45 וְאֶתְהַלְּכָה *78.* (וְאֶ Ben-N., *37, 43.*)

Ben-A. וְאֶתְהַלְּכָה

47 וְאֶשְׁתַּעֲשַׁע *78.* (וְאֶ *37, 43, 47.*)

Ben-A. וְאֶשְׁתַּֽעֲשַׁע Ben-N. וְֽאֶשְׁתַּעֲשַׁע

48 אֶל־מִצְוֺתֶיךָ *78.* (אֶל־ Ben-N., *14, 37, 43, 47.*)

Ben-A. אֶֽל־מִצְוֺתֶיךָ

Ps. 144,15 שֶׁכָּכָה לּוֹ *78.*

Ben-A. שֶׁכָּֽכָה לּוֹ Ben-N. שֶׁכָּכָה לּֽוֹ

Ps. 145, 4 וּגְבוּרֹתֶיךָ *78.* So Ben-A., *7, 14, 47*, xix, Ba., Gi., Kit.

Ben-N. וּגְבוּרֹתֶֽיךָ

Ps. 146, 7 עֹשֶׂה *78.* So Ben-A., *7, 11, 13, 17, 20, 34, 37, 43*, Ba.

Ben-N. עֹֽשֶׂה

§ IV

SOME OTHER NOTABLE THINGS IN *MS. 78.*

Folio. Ref.

1*a* Ps. 1, 1 לֹא עָמָד So *43*.

2 כִּי אִם בְּתוֹרַת יְהוָה In top margin

כִּי אִם בתורת יוי כִּי אֵין חרצֻבּוֹת למותם

אַךְ טוֹב לישרָאל אלוהים אילין בחד טעמא

(Ps. 1, 2; 73, 4; and 73, 1—in that order). The Text of *78* is not extant for Ps. 73. The accentuation demanded here for its first and fourth verses appears to belong to an ancient tradition whereby verses 1 and 2, and 4 and 5, in each case were intoned as a single verse. *14* supports this in Ps. 73, 1, and Gi. in verse 4.

Ps. 2, 7 יְהוָה אָמַר אֵלַי בְּנִי אַתָּה Same accents in *5*, *14*, *24*, *43*, *56*, xix, a formidable group.

1*b* Ps. 3, 7 לֹא־אִירָא מֵרִבְבוֹת עָם Same accents in *43*.

2*a* Ps. 12, 8 תִּצְּרֶנּוּ ׀ מִן־הַדּוֹר זוּ לְעוֹלָם So Baer.

Ps. 13, 4 הַבִּיטָה עֲנֵנִי *43* הַבִּיטָה־עֲנֵנִי

2*b* Ps. 14, 7 מִי יִתֵּן מִצִּיּוֹן So in Ps. 53, 7.

3*b* Ps. 17, 14 מִמְתִים־יָדְךָ ׀ יְהוָה מִמְתִים מֵחֶלֶד

וּצְפִינְךָ In the margin is the following—

ז ז "Note Seven

פסוק verses

בקריה in Scripture

Folio. Ref.

מז יה֗	on the 7–15 plan
יה֗ מילין	15 words
ז֗ מילין	7 words
מיכא	on the one hand
וז֗ מלין	and 7 words
מיכא	on the other
ומציעיתא	and the central word
אית בה	comprises
כת֗	Kᵉthîbh
וקר֗	and Kᵉrê."

There is a note to the same purport, though differently worded at the end, in *20*.

3*b* Ps. 18, 1 בְּיוֹם הִצִּיל־יְהוָֹה Gi. בְּיוֹם׀הִצִּיל־יְהוָ֗ה

7 בַּצַּר־לִי׀ אֶקְרָא יְהוָה

Contrast v. 4 מְהֻלָּל אֶקְרָא יְהוָה

4*a* 16 וַיֵּרָאוּ׀ So Gi.

20 כִּ֫י חָפֵץ־בִּי Contrast Ps. 22, 9 below.

31 אִמְרַת־יְהוָה Gi. אִמְרַת־

4*b* 36 וְעַנְוְתְךָ

45 לְשֵׁמַע־אֹזֶן

5*a* Ps. 19, 3 יַבִּיעַ־אֹמֶר [*sic*].

5*b* Ps. 20, 7 כִּי הוֹשִׁיעַ׀ So *14, 43, 52*, xix.

Ps. 21, 9 יְמִינְךָ No accent.

6*a* Ps. 22, 1 מִזְמוֹר

9 כִּ֫י חָפֵץ בּוֹ Contrast Ps. 18, 20 above.

Folio. Ref.

6*b* Ps. 22, 20 לְעֶזְרָתִי Gi. לְעֶזְרָתִי

27 דֹּרְשָׁיו

7*a* Ps. 24, 4 נַפְשִׁי No קרי So *9, 26, 36.*

(*Note.*—MS. *9* (my No. and Gi.'s), not often legible in its small things, is cited occasionally in this section. It is B.M. MS. No. *Add. 9403,* Cat. No. *73,* Ginsburg Introd. No. *55,* Page *549.*)

7 וְהִנָּשְׂאוּ So Baer.

8 Note in the same verse יְהוָה but יְהוָה (the accent swallowing the vowel).

7*b* Ps. 25, 7 חַטֹּאות [*sic*].

Ps. 26, 1 הָלַכְתִּי So Gi. (1913). The change to הָלַכְתִּי in Gi. (1926) is an error. See the note on the variant in *both* editions.

8*a* Ps. 27, 2 הֵמָּה כָשְׁלוּ (pr.m.) So *19.*

3 אִירָא (pr.m.) So *15.*

6 וְעַתָּה יָרוּם רֹאשִׁי *43* וְעַתָּה יָרוּם

8*b* 10 וַיהוָה יַאַסְפֵנִי Same accents *14.*

11 הוֹרֵנִי So Gi.

13 לוּלֵא

Ps. 28, 5 כִּי לֹא יָבִינוּ *43* כִּי לֹא יָבִינוּ

7 וּמִשִּׁירִי So *43.*

8 וּמָעוֹז So *43.*

9*a* Ps. 29, 9 וּבְהֵיכָלוֹ

Ps. 30, 8 לְהַרְרִי עֹז So *43,* Gi.

Folio.	Ref.	
9*b*	Ps. 31, 11	כִּי כָלוּ בְיָגוֹן So Baer.
10*a*	14	עָלַי So *43.*
	17	הוֹשִׁיעֵנִי So Gi.
	19	שִׂפְתֵי שָׁקֶר So *14*, *43*, xix.
	22	כִּי הִפְלִיא חַסְדּוֹ לִי So *47*, xix, Gi.
	23	נִגְרַזְתִּי The נ apparently protecting against a known variant נִגְרַשְׁתִּי. *15* and some of De Rossi's MSS. have נִגְזַרְתִּי.
10*b*	Ps. 32, 9	בְּמֶתֶג־וָרֶסֶן Ba. and Gi. בְּמֶתֶג וָרֶסֶן
11*a*	Ps. 33, 22	יִחַלְנוּ
	Ps. 34, 2	אֲבָרְכָה
	8	סָבִיב So *37*.
	9	יֶחֱסֶה So *47*, *56*.
	10	יְראוּ ירדו ק *7* and *37* have יִרְאוּ *42* יְראוּ
12*a*	Ps. 49, 14	כֶּסֶל So Baer, Mandelkern, and B.D.B. MSS. should be studied here. *7*, *64*, xix have כְּסֶל, and so Gi. (with no note). *78* has בֹּ in the side margin, and in the lower margin כֶּסֶל בֹּ וסימ׳ זה דרכם ולדעת רשע כסל but in Eccl. 7, 25 (folio 35*b*) כֶּסֶל with marginal לׄ.
12*b*	Ps. 50, 19	תַּצְמִיד
13*a*	Ps. 51, 11	וְכָל־עֲוֺנֹתַי

Folio. Ref.

13*b* Ps. 52, 7 וְשֵׁרֶשְׁךָ

11 וַאֲקַוֶּה שִׁמְךָ כִּי־טוֹב

Ps. 53, 1 עַל־מָחֲלַת

2 הִשְׁחִיתוּ וְהִתְעִיבוּ עָוֶל *43* similarly, but הִשְׁחִיתוּ

4 אֵין עֹשֵׂה־טוֹב So Gi. (*43* אֵין עֹשֵׂה)

7 מִי יִתֵּן מִצִּיּוֹן as in Ps. 14, 7.

,, יִשְׂמַח

14*a* Ps. 62, 6 אַךְ לֵאלֹהִים דּוֹמִּי נַפְשִׁי So Gi. Baer דֹּמִּי

9 שִׁפְכוּ לְפָנָיו *43* שִׁפְכוּ־לְפָנָיו Cf. v. 13.

10 בְּנֵי אִישׁ Gi. בְּנֵי־אִישׁ

11 חַיִל׀ כִּי־יָנוּב So Gi. (but כִּי־), Baer כִּי
Cf. Ps. 53, 4.

13 וּלְךָ אֲדֹנָי *43* וּלְךָ־אֲדֹנָי Cf. v. 9. Gi.
וּלְךָ אֲדֹנָי

Ps. 63, 2 אֲשַׁחֲרֶךָּ Gi. אֲשַׁחֲרֶךָּ

3 חַיִּיתֶךָ So *5, 13, 19, 22, 42, 43, 47, 56*, xix.

14*b* Ps. 64, 2 מִפַּחַד

תִּצֹּר

7 יַחְפְּשׂוּ So Gi.

9 יִתְנֹדְדוּ So *43*. Baer יִתְנוֹדְדוּ

10 וַיַּגִּידוּ פֹּעַל אֱלֹהִים (pr.m.)

15*a* Ps. 65, 9 מוֹצָאֵי־בֹקֶר *14* מוֹצָאֵי־בֹקֶר (xix מוֹצָאֵי־בֹקֶר וָעֶרֶב).

10 פָּקַדְתָּ הָאָרֶץ וַתְּשֹׁקְקֶהָ

Folio.		Ref.	
15b	Ps.	66, 18	לֹא יִשְׁמַע ׀ אֲדֹנָי pr.m. (So Gi.) altered to יִשְׁמָע.
		20	בָּרוּךְ אֱלֹהִים אֲשֶׁר לֹא־הֵסִיר תְּפִלָּתִי וְחַסְדּוֹ מֵאִתִּי
16a	Ps.	69, 19	קָרְבָה. So Baer.
16b		22	וַיִּתְּנוּ. Same accent in *13* and *64*.
	Ps.	70, 2	לְעֶזְרָתִי So *22* (and five early Edd. acc. to Gi.—not xix).
17a	Ps.	71, 12	לְעֶזְרָתִי So *22*.
17b	Ps.	72, 3	הָרִים So Ba. Gi. הָרִים ׀
		4	וִידַכֵּא So Ba. Kitt. וִֽידַכֵּא Gi. וִידַכֵּא
		8	וְיֵרְדְּ (pr.m.)
18a	Ps.	76, 12	נְדָרוּ So Kit. Baer נִֽדְרוּ Gi. נִדְרוּ
	Ps.	77, 8	הַלְעוֹלָמִים יִזְנַח ׀ אֲדֹנָי. So Ba. (but הַלְעוֹלָמִים). Gi. הַלְעוֹלָמִים יִזְנַח ׀ So Kit. (but הַלְעוֹלָמִים).
		10	הֲשָׁכַח חַנּוֹת אֵל
18b	Ps.	78, 7	מַעַלְלֵי אֵל *20* מַעַלְלֵי
		9	נוֹשְׁקֵי רוֹמֵי־קָשֶׁת Baer נֽוֹשְׁקֵי רֽוֹמֵי־ (Kit. נֽוֹשְׁקֵי). Gi. נוֹשְׁקֵי רוֹמֵי
19b		38	וְהוּא רַחוּם ׀ There is no break of any sort marked before these words.
20a		66	חרפות pr.m.
21a	Ps.	91, 13	תִּרְמֹס כְּפִיר וְתַנִּין Ba. Gi. Kit. תִּֽרְמֹס
21b	Ps.	92, 10	כָּל־פֹּעֲלֵי אָוֶן
		15	דְּשֵׁנִים וְרַעֲנַנִּים יִהְיוּ
	Ps.	93, 2	מֵעוֹלָם So Ba.

Folio.	Ref.		
22*a*	Ps. 94,	4	יִבְּיעוּ יְדַבְּרוּ So *43* and many other MSS.
		6	וִיתוֹמִים So Ba.
		9	הֲנֹטַע־אֹזֶן *43* הֲנֹטַע אֹזֶן (So Gi.)
		,,	אִם־יֹצֵר־עַיִן *43* אִם־יֹצֵר עַיִן
		11	כִּי־הֵמָּה
	Ps. 95,	2	נְרִיעַ־לוֹ [*sic*].
		7	היום to the Scribe of the Consonants began a new verse.
22*b*	Ps. 96,	2	שִׁירוּ לַיהוָה בָּרְכוּ שְׁמוֹ pr.m.
		4	כִּי גָדוֹל יְהוָה וּמְהֻלָּל מְאֹד So Ba.
		7	כָּבוֹד וָעֹז
23*a*	Ps. 100,	3	הוּא־עָשָׂנוּ *43* הוּא עָשָׂנוּ
		4	בָּרְכוּ
	Ps. 101,	1	מזמור pr.m. but altered by the punctuator to מִזְמֹר with marginal חס׳ ל׳ למער׳ *43* has מִזְמֹר with same marginal note.
		3	שֹׂטִים So *7, 9, 15, 19, 34, 36, 64.*
23*b*	Ps. 102,	7	כְּבוֹם So *15* (pr.m.) and two of the three "intralinear-Latin" MSS., Kenn. *73* and *97* (the latter, Trin. Coll. Camb. *R.8.6*, seen and noted by me). MS. *47* has the traditional כְּבוֹם, but its Arabic rendering is כבום. The variant בום was known to Jerome.
		14	כִּי עֵת לְחֶנְנָהּ כִּי־בָא מוֹעֵד׃
24*a*		27	כַּלְּבוּשׁ תַּחֲלִיפֵם וְיַחֲלֹפוּ׃ Gi. תַּחֲלִיפֵם

Folio.	Ref.	
24*b*	Ps. 103, 20	בְּקוֹל דְּבָרָו׃ [*sic*]. The plural. So LXX, Vulg. (and *AEHR* of Jerome), Coverdale (1535), Great Bible (1539), P.B.V.
	Ps. 104, 7	מִן־גַּעֲרָתְךָ So *9*, *14*, *52*, xix.
25*a*	Ps. 106, 38	וַיִּשְׁפְּכוּ דָם נָקִי Same accents Ba. Gi. דָּם
	48	בָּרוּךְ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל מִן־הָעוֹלָם ׀ וְעַד הָעוֹלָם וְאָמַר כָּל־הָעָם אָמֵן הַלְלוּיָהּ׃
25*b*	Ps. 107, 1	כִּי־לְעוֹלָם pr.m.
	3	מִצָּפוֹן וּמִיָּם׃ See Ps. 113, 6, below.
26*a*	Ps. 113, 4	רָם עַל־כָּל־גּוֹיִם ׀ יְהוָה So Ba. Gi. גּוֹיִם ׀
	6	בַּשָּׁמַיִם וּבָאָרֶץ׃ Cf. Ps. 107, 3 above. Gi. in both cases treats the last word as short (as in this Text), Ba. as long.
	7	מְקִימִי (In MS. written מְקִימִי, so as to leave no doubt as to the identity of the first accent.) So *14*, *52*, wrongly listed by Gi. as having מְקִימִי, which is only certainly found in *5*, *43*, and *47* in Gi.'s list, as in *9* the first accent has been added by a modern hand, and the scribe of *56* writes the accents Mer'kha מֵרְכָא (֥), and Tarḥa טַרְחָא (֖), exactly alike as ֥.
26*b*	Ps. 114, 7	אֱלוֹהַּ יַעֲקֹב [*sic*].
	Ps. 115, 1	The two Psalms as one.
	7	ידיהם לא ימישון pr.m.—corrected with the vowels.
27*a*	Ps. 118, 17	מַעֲשֵׂי־יָהּ׃ Ba. and Gi. מַעֲשֵׂי
	25	אָנָּא יְהוָה הוֹשִׁיעָה נָּא אָנָּא יְהוָה הַצְלִיחָה נָּא׃

Folio. Ref.

In MS. וְצַלִּיחָה, an entirely different accent from that in הוֹשִׁיעָה (as shewn).

27*a* Ps. 118, 29 כִּי־לְעוֹלָם חַסְדּוֹ׃ The Makkeph intentionally so placed. See Ps. 107, 1 above.

27*b* Ps. 119, 12 לַמְּדֵנִי and so in v. 26.

28*a* 31 The Text displayed (but not accented) for the main division to follow יְהוָה—so Vulg. and Jerome—also the Geneva English Bible (1560). אַל־·· תְּבִישֵׁנִי׃ The two (? "Extraordinary") points on the line of the consonants.

28*b* 35 כִּי בוֹ חָפָצְתִּי Note כִּי not כִּי. Contrast Ps. 22, 9 above. Baer כִּי בוֹ, Gi. כִּי־בוֹ

29*a* Ps. 144, 13 מְרֻבָּבוֹת Although the preceding words are not extant in this MS., the fact that מְרֻבָּבוֹת, and not מְרֻבָּבוֹת, is found here proves that on this word, and not on מַאֲלִיפוֹת, as Gi., was the main division of the second section of the verse. Thus *14* accents צֹאונֵנוּ מַאֲלִיפוֹת מְרֻבָּבוֹת בְּחוּצוֹתֵינוּ׃

Ps. 145, 1 וַאֲבָרְכָה Ba. וַאֲבָרְכָה Gi. וַאֲבָרְכָה

2 וַאֲהַלְלָה (metheg so placed). Ba. וַאֲהַלְלָה

4 וּגְבוּרֹתֶיךָ So Ba. and Gi.

6 וּגְדֻלּוֹתֶיךָ with marginal ׳ ׳

וּגְדוּלָּתְךָ (Note ל)

ק

The two ׳ ׳ are in the same size and ink

Folio. Ref.

as the consonants of the Text. Both refer to this word, there being two different differences in the reading required. The word appears in the same full written form in *47*, *52*, *56*, xix.

29*a* Ps. 145, 8 וּגְדָל־ Gi. seems to have followed xix alone in the whole of his listed MSS. and Editions in printing וגדול־.

11 וּגְבוּרָתְךָ *43* וּגְבוּרָתְךָ Ba. וּגְבוּרָתֶךָ Gi.

וּגְבוּרָתְךָ Kit. וּגְבוּרָתֶךָ *42* וּגְבוּרָתְךָ

Jerome read וגבורתך

13 דּוֹר וָדֹר So *5*, *43*, *47*, *56*, xix.

15 וְאַתָּה ׀ Perhaps a Paseḳ.

16 וּמַשְׂבִּיעַ לְכָל־חַי So Ba. Gi. וּמַשְׂבִּיעַ לְכָל־חַי

29*b* 21 יְדַבֶּר פִּי So *42*.

Ps. 146, 4 Now עֶשְׁתֹּנֹתָיו but orig. (and correctly) עֶ׳

10 הַלְלוּיָהּ The placing of the last vowel corrects the spacing of the consonants. One word, not two, here.

Ps. 147, 5 לִתְבוּנָתוֹ בספ / מוג i.e. "Thus, and not ולתבונתו in correct codices". The latter is found in *9*, *27*, *42*, *64*, LXX, Vulg.

The Geographical Names in the Staël-Holstein Scroll

By G. L. M. CLAUSON

THE "Staël-Holstein Scroll" is a convenient name to give to the document on which are inscribed the texts recently published by Professor Thomas and Professor Sten Konow in "Two Mediaeval Documents from Tun Huang", *Oslo Etnografiske Museums Skrifter*, Bind 3, Hefte 3 (Oslo, 1929). It bears on one side a Buddhist Sūtra in Chinese and on the other one document in Tibetan and one in the Śaka language (also sometimes called "Khotanese" and "Nord-Arisch"). These latter have no relation to the Chinese text and were written on it when it had become waste paper.

The two documents appear to be, so to speak, the "office copies" of the correspondence of a mission sent by the King of Khotan to the ruler of Sha-chou, the place now usually known as Tun-huang, in Western Kansu.

The Tibetan text falls into three parts, a rough and a fair copy of a memorial from the mission to the ruler of Sha-chou, and a metrical summary of the writer's principal points. This text contains no geographical names and we need not consider it further.

The Śaka text falls into five parts, the first three of which are preceded by dates in the fourteenth year of King Viśa-saṃbhata of Khotan, a "cock year", which Professor Konow shows to be the equivalent in all probability of A.D. 757–8, with A.D. 769–70 as a possible alternative. The first section is short and its meaning obscure. The second is apparently, at any rate in part, a copy of the mission's passport and contains several lists of names. The third part is a report by the mission. The fourth and fifth, apparently in verse, seem to be irrelevant.

The editors have rightly emphasized the extreme importance of the lists of geographical names contained in the second part

of the Śaka text as a new and independent authority for the geographical names in Chinese Turkestan and the adjacent areas in the eighth century.

My excuse for reopening the question so soon is that the editors have wisely preferred to publish their material at once instead, as is too often the case, of keeping it to themselves until they have squeezed the last drop of juice out of the lemon. It is in no spirit of carping criticism that I offer a contribution to the elucidation of their text, which they could no doubt have made themselves if they had kept the rest of the world waiting a little longer.

For the geography of Central Asia in and around the eighth century there is already a good deal of information, but it is of a very mixed kind and, apart from those Chinese authorities which were written specifically, or partly, for the purpose of giving geographical information, the texts often create more problems than they solve.

Apart from the Chinese authorities, which are the principal source of our knowledge, we have the following sources of information :—

(1) The Arab and Persian geographers and historians, who in this period hardly come far enough East to throw much light on the present document.

(2) The "Runic" Turkish inscriptions which hardly come far enough south.

(3) The Tibetan documents from Sir Aurel Stein's and other excavation in Central Asia, extracts from which are published from time to time by Professor Thomas in this *Journal*. These contain a number of place-names but only rare indications of their location.

(4) The Kharoṣṭhi documents from the same excavations, which have been published in *Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions Discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan*, by Boyer, Rapson, Senart and Noble. These come from the right area but are some 500 years earlier.

(5) The Sanskrit documents published by Lüders in his

articles "Zur Geschichte und Geographie Ostturkestans" and "Weitere Beiträge zur Geschichte, etc." (*SPAW*., 1922, pp. 243–61, and 1930, pp. 3–60), with the former of which Pelliot dealt in his article "Notes sur les anciens noms de Kuča, d'Aqsu et d'Uč Turfan" (*T'oung Pao*, N.S., xxii, pp. 126–32). The names in these documents are unfortunately mostly just outside our area.

Modern works on the subject are too numerous to record, but special mention must be made of the works of Chavannes, Pelliot and Stein.

In working out the identifications of the place-names in our Śaka document we must remember that those names fall into three classes:—

(1) Original Śaka names, of which the document gives the true spelling, while the Chinese authorities give the nearest equivalent of which the language is capable.

(2) Original Chinese names, represented as the writer of the documents heard them.

(3) Names neither Chinese or Śaka by origin, represented as the writer of the document heard them, while the Chinese authorities give the nearest equivalent of which the language is capable.

It is obvious that a higher standard of equivalence between the document and the Chinese authorities must be required in the case of the first two classes than is required in the third, for two things which are approximately equal to the same thing are not necessarily so approximately equal to one another. Moreover in the case of the first and third classes allowance must also be made for the fact that in some cases the Chinese equivalents were standardized at an earlier period, while the Śaka text represents the same name in a more advanced stage of phonetic decay.

As is well known, we are still only very imperfectly acquainted with the Śaka language and the translation of the text is by no means certain. About the transcription of the names, however, there is fortunately no doubt, as the text,

even in the reduced photograph which accompanies Professor Konow's paper, is admirably clear. On the other hand, in the case of some strings of names the division of the syllables into words is not always absolutely certain.

I will now proceed to examine in detail the text of the second part of the Śaka document sentence by sentence, giving the original text where there is any doubt regarding the meaning.

(*a*) *In the* 14*th year of King Lion Viśa'saṃbhata, cock year,* 12*th day of the month of Kaji.*

(*b*) *ṣi niṣkici pīḍaki ttye heri prracaina cu maṃ Ṣacū kūthi tti kaburi haḍaya.*

The order of the last six words is a little puzzling, but accepting Professor Konow's translation of *niṣkici pīḍaki* this may be translated: "This (is) a letter of security inasmuch as the following are my envoys to the town of 沙 州 Sha-chou." It should be noted that 州 is here transcribed *cu*, in other cases *cū*; there is no obvious reason for this.

(*c*) *Bulumni Rrgyaḍisūmmi & Sarrnidatti, the ṣau of the Ttāgutta province, & Saṃdū, the ṣau of the Hvaṃna* [*i.e. Khotan*] *province & Śvāṃnakai ṣau of Naṃpa Jamñai & they know the following towns* :—

I have little to add to what has already been said regarding these names. *Bulumni Rrgyaḍisūmmi* is *H̱bal Rgyal-sum* in the Tibetan text, *H̱bal* (no doubt pronounced *mbal*) meaning "Nepalese". Tibetan scholars will note with interest that initial *r-* was still pronounced at this period. The alternation *ḍ/l* should be noted. Dr. Konow rightly calls attention to the attachment of the usual Śaka termination *-i* to the Tibetan monosyllables, we find the same phenomenon again later in the transcription of Chinese monosyllables. The equation between *Ttagutta* and the Tibetan place-name *Sta-gu* quoted by Professor Thomas is probably correct as the alternative form *Ta-gu* is also found (see *JRAS.*, 1930, p. 280).

It was perhaps, as Professor Thomas suggests (loc. cit.), in the Cherchen area.

Professor Thomas' identification of *Jamña* with a district of the same name in the Khotan area is no doubt correct. *Naṃpa* must in this case be a Tibetan adjective ending in ṇ *-pa*. The equation of *nam* with Chinese 南 *nan*, in Karlgren's "Ancient" pronunciation *nâm*, "South," is too tempting to be quite convincing.

The next section, like some later sections, begins with two dots.

(*d*) " . . *The town of Phiṃmāṃna and the inhabited town Tsāḍīkāṃ and the inhabited town of Paḍaki and the inhabited town of Kaṃdaki and the inhabited town of Ysabaḍiparrūṃ. The town of Raurata* [below the last three names are written in a second hand "*Nākichittipū, Nāhi* [*du ?*], *Hūttarttī, the Three Towns*"] *and the town of Sūcaṃni and the town of Ṣacū and the town of Śalahi and the town of Hvinitcviṃni* [below the last two names are written in the same hand "*the town of Tcīdyaimi and the town of Ūnikū*"] *and the town of Kvacū and the* (*abandoned* [1]) *town of Śīniśe and the* (*abandoned*) *town of Dviyikye and the* (*abandoned*) *town of Gākimaṃ'ni and the abandoned town of Hve'ttu and the* (*abandoned*) *town of Puṃkari and the town of Sauhicū and the* (*abandoned*) *town of Lāhipuṃ and the* (*abandoned*) *town of Kviṃnikaṃ and the* (*abandoned*) *town of Lvainitsvaini* . . *The town of Kaṃmacū and the town of Leṃcū and the town of Śāhvā*.

The editors have correctly stated that this is a list of the towns on the road running due east from Khotan, but it is exactly, not "roughly", in geographical order, and is therefore of very great interest.

Phiṃmāṃna is correctly identified by them with 媲摩 P'i-mo, Ancient *pji* [or *b'ji* ?] *-muâ*. Stein (*Serindia*, p. 1255) identifies this place with Uzun Tati; Herrmann ("Die alten

[1] The word ttūśā "abandoned, desolate" is added here and in future cases below the line.

Seidenstrassen zwischen China und Syrien," vol. xxi of *Quellen und Forschungen zur alten Geschichte und Geographie*, p. 98) puts it a little further to the east on the ground of the distances given by the Chinese authorities, but the disagreement is unimportant.

Tsāḍīkāṃ is at first sight a difficulty. The obvious identification is 精 絕 Ching-chüeh, Ancient *tsi̯äng-dz'i̯ʷät*, the modern Romok, the next " kingdom " to P'i-mo in the Chinese authorities, and this is no doubt correct. The transcriptions in Tibetan characters of Chinese Buddhist text published by Dr. Thomas and myself in this *Journal* (1926, p. 508 ff., 1927, p. 281 ff., 1929, p. 37 ff.), which come from this area and are approximately of the same date as this document, show that final *-ng* was frequently omitted in the Chinese dialect of the area so *tsi̯äng* > *tsä* is quite in order, but it is not easy to see why the Chinese should have represented *-ḍīk* by *dz'i̯ʷät* when they had such characters as 敵 Ancient *d'ick* at their disposal.

As this identification is reasonably certain and that of *Kaṃdaki* quite certain, *Paḍaki* must lie between the two and the obvious choice is Cherchen. Unfortunately, however, the Chinese name for this place in the T'ang period, 播 仙 Po-hsien, Ancient *pua-si̯än* (see Stein, *Serindia*, p. 299), though it starts well, clearly does not correspond to the second half of the word, neither have I been able to find any Ancient *dâk*, *diek*, etc., for which 仙 might be a scribal error. The identification, therefore, though probable, is not certain.

The editors have got almost all that is to be got out of the next three names and the note below them, but have not quite pushed things to a logical conclusion. The equations which are singularly complete are as follows :—

(i) *Kaṃdaki* = *Ka-dag* of the Tibetan documents (see Thomas, *JRAS.*, 1928, p. 565 ff.) = *Katak* of Mirza Haidar's Tārīkh-i-Rashīdi (for references see the Index to Elias and Ross's translation) = *Naki chettipo* = *Nob-ched-po* of the Tibetan documents (see Thomas, *JRAS.*, 1928, p. 568 ff.) = Great

Nob or Lop = the modern Charkhlik (see Stein, *Serindia*, p. 322).

(ii) *Ysabadiparrum* (*Ys*- is the Śaka scription for *Z*-) = Hsüan-Tsang's 納 縛 波 Na-fu-po Ancient *nâp-b'i̯ʷak-puâ* with the pronunciation *nź*- or *nž*- for initial *n*- of which numerous examples exist in the contemporary Sino-Tibetan texts = *Nahi-chum* (in spite of Professor Konow's doubts, it seems to me that the facsimile permits us to read the syllable transcribed by Professor Konow as [*du*] as *chum*) = *Nob-chuṅ* (see Thomas, loc. cit.) = Little Nob or Lop = the modern Miran (see Stein, loc. cit.).

(iii) *Raurata* = *Kroraina* of the Kharoṣṭhi documents = 樓 蘭 Lou-lan, Ancient *lə̯u-lân* = *Hūttarttī* (apparently not mentioned elsewhere, but presumably the Tibetan name) = Stein's " Lou-lan site ".

(iv) *drraya kanthe* = " the Three Towns ", not merely " three towns " = the Tibetan *mkhar-sum* (see Thomas, loc. cit.) = (i), (ii) and (iii) above.

This table enables us to tie up two or three loose ends in the nomenclature of this area.

Sūcamni is correctly identified by the editors with 壽 昌 Shou-ch'ang, Ancient *źi̯ə̯u-t'ś'i̯ang*, now Nan-hu, the only place of any importance between the Lou-lan site and Tun-huang.

Ṣacu is of course Sha-chou, i.e. Tun-huang.

I have not succeeded in identifying the next four places, but as it seems probable that they are all Chinese they can be left for further consideration to the Sinologists.

The element *-lahi* is *Śalahi*, which reappears below in *Lahipum* presumably represents a modern *lai* or *lei*. *Hvinit-cvimni* presumably represents *huan*- or *hsüan-chuan* or something of that kind.

It is tempting to identify *Tcidyaimi* with *Tsaidam*, but this cannot be regarded as certain, especially as Tsaidam is an area and not a town.

Ūnikū presumably represents something like *wên-ku* or *kou*.

The main lines of the remainder of the route are clear; *Kvacū* = Kua-chou, *Kaṃmacū* = Kan-chou, *Leṃcū* = presumably Liang-chou and not Lan-chou, though the latter is a possible alternative. This being so, *Śāhvā* can hardly be anything except Hsi-an-fu, the capital of the T'ang Empire, at that time called Ch'ang-an, but the Chinese name which it represents is not obvious.

I have not succeeded in identifying the intermediate towns, but as they all lie within China on a known route they are not of great importance.

There follows a clause of five words, preceded and followed by two dots; it is not clear whether it is to be read with the preceding phrase and translated "*The above which are inhabited towns*" or with the following phrase and translated "*The following which are inhabited towns*"; the latter seems the more probable.

(*e*) *The town of Īcū, and the town of Kau'yāki and the town of Dapicī and the town of Phūcaṃni and the town of Śakahi and the town of Tsīrikyepi and the town of Īśumi and the town of Yūśumi and the town of Hve'tseri and the town of Ttukicū and the town of Ttiyāki and the town of Tcyāṃtsvaini and the town of Kautañai, which is the greatest of the Five Towns, the town named Hinibihiraki* (?), *the town named Śapari and the town named Yirrūṃciṃni, the town named Caṃmaidi Baḍaiki, the inhabited town of Argiñvā, the inhabited town of Ermvā, the town of Phalayākī, the town of Tturpaṃni, the town of Bāpaṃni*.

It is in connection with this list of names that I think that I can claim to have made definite progress beyond the original editors, who have contented themselves with the obvious identification *Tturpaṃni* = Turfan, together with two identifications which are incorrect. It is clear that the list contains the names of places on the old "northern route" running north-west from Tun-huang. Unlike the list of names on the

southern route, which the mission had presumably traversed themselves, this list, which was no doubt compiled from hearsay, is not in rigid geographical order and, as a consequence, the problems of identification are much more difficult.

The first name on the list, however, is that of the first place on the road. *Īcū* = 伊 州 I-chou, an abbreviated form, which is also used by Hsüan-tsang for I-wu-chou, the old name of Hami.

Kau'yāki and *Ttiyāki* obviously belong together, the first elements being 高 *kao* "high" and 低 *ti* "low" respectively. *Yāki* was at first a puzzle, but I am inclined to think that it must be 億 *i*, Ancient *·i̯ək* the first element in I-ni, Ancient *·i̯ək-nji*, the Chinese transcription used in the translation of the Candragarbasutra for the Sanskrit name of the modern Qarashahr, *Agni*, which was inferred from Hsüan-tsang's transcription *A-chi-ni* and has now actually been found in a Sanskrit document from Qyzyl (see H. Lüders, "Weitere Beiträge zur Geschichte und Geographie von Ostturkestan," *SPAW.*, 1930, p. 27). "Upper" and "Lower Agni" are presumably two parts, perhaps Northern and Southern, of the "kingdom" of Qarashahr.

Dapici looks rather like another Chinese name *Dapi-ci*, but I cannot identify it, or either element in it.

Phucaṃni is almost certainly Pichan. This name is spelt *Pucian* in the account of Niccolo and Maffeo Polo's travels (see the map of routes of mediæval travellers in Richthofen's *China*, vol. i).

Śakahi looks like a local name received direct and not through a Chinese medium, but I cannot identify it.

Tsīrikyepi is presumably Sirkip, 15 miles east of Karakhoja on the road to Pichan (see Stein's *Innermost Asia*, p. 612).

With *Īśumi* and *Yūśumi*, however, we apparently move eastwards again, since it is very tempting to identify them with the two kingdoms of 且 彌 Tsü-mi (Chü-mi), Ancient *tsi̯ʷo-mjię*, just west of the Barkol Lake, but the first syllables present some difficulty. The two kingdoms are usually

described as "anterior" and "posterior" 前 ch'ien, Ancient *dz'ien*, and 後 hou, Ancient *γə̯u*; alternatively they might be described as "left" and "right" (i.e. east and west), 左 tso, Ancient *tsâ*, and 右 yu, Ancient *jiə̯u*. *Yū*- might well represent *jiə̯u*, or, at a pinch, *γə̯u*, and is in the right position, looked at from Tun-huang, for this identification, but *Ī* is not explicable on either hypothesis.

Hve'tseri is another puzzle, it does not look Chinese in form.

Ttukicū looks like a Chinese name, *ttuki* representing tu, Ancient *tuk* or *t'u*, Ancient *t'uk*, and *cū* 州 chou, but I cannot identify the place.

Ttiyāki has been explained above.

Tcyāṃtsvaini is no doubt another Chinese name, the first element being something like chiang and the second possibly 泉 ts'üan (ch'üan), Ancient *dz'i̯ʷän* "fountain, spring". This latter element is also found in *Lvainitsvaini* in the earlier list.

I do not think that there can be any serious doubt that *Kautañai* is the Śaka spelling of the original (non-Chinese) name which the Chinese represented by 高 昌 Kao-ch'ang, Ancient *kâu-t'ś'i̯ang*, the modern Karakhoja, which the Uighurs, whose capital it was, knew as Beshbalïq, "the Five Towns."

The next name is uncertain. The editors give the alternative readings, *Hinibihiraki* as a proper name and *hi ni bihi Raki* "and in addition to them Raki". I have a strong suspicion, however, that *hini* is to be connected with the Sanskrit *hīna* "small" and that the whole phrase means "*and the lesser ones are the towns named Raki* (or *Bihiraki*?), *Śapari*, *Yirrūṃcimni* and *Caṃmaidi Baḍaiki*". This would at any rate explain why four towns should be singled out as "named".

Professor Thomas has suggested to me that *Baḍaiki* is perhaps the Turkish *balïq* "town"; the theory is an attractive one.

Śapari is perhaps to be connected with the name Sha-po-liu,

which is found in the genealogies of the Western Turkish Qaghans, and is perhaps Tokharian by origin.

Yirrūṃcimni is no doubt the name which the Chinese represented by 輪 臺 Lun-t'ai, Ancient *luẹn-d'ai* (see Chavannes' *Documents sur les Tou-kioue Occidentaux*, p. 11), the modern Urumtsi, though not necessarily in the same place as the latter now is.

The next two names are uncertain; *-vā* is the Locative Plural in Śaka (see Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan*, Oxford, 1916, p. 233), and the phrase may mean "*the inhabited towns in the Argiñs and the Erms*".

I am inclined to connect *Phalayāki* with the modern Buluyuk, shown in the maps in Sir A. Stein's *Innermost Asia*, 8 miles north of Turfan, which is of course the *Tturpaṃni* of our text. I have not identified *Bāpaṃni*.

The next section commences a new line, and is preceded by two dots.

(*f*) . . *Anittuṃga*, *Cāttuṃga*, *Tsāṃśāṃśī*, *Ciṃkiśāṃśī*, *Bvā'yūṃśāṃśī*. These names are obviously Chinese; and, as the word "town" is not mentioned in connection with them, we may assume that they are the names of districts, in which case the editors' suggestion that *śāṃśī* represents 山 西 shan-hsi (*Shen-si* is a misprint), Ancient *ṣan-siei* "west of the mountains", is no doubt correct, and *tuṃga* is probably 東 tung, Ancient *tung* "east". I cannot, however, identify the names themselves.

The next section begins a new line.

(*g*) *In the Ijūva Yahiḍa province*, *Aḍapahūtti*, *Bākū*, *Bāsikātti*, *Kurabīri*, *Kāribari*; *these are Ttūlisi*. Leumann suggests that *ttūlisi* here means "twenty-four", a suggestion which, with all deference to a great scholar, is singularly inept.

It will be noted that here too there is no mention of "towns". I suggest that in *Ttūlisi* we have the Turkish tribal name which is usually spelt *Tölös*. This spelling is of course incorrect,

since Turkish does not admit *ö* elsewhere than in the first syllable. Chavannes (*Documents sur les Tou-kioue Occidentaux*, Index) gives the alternative forms Tölös and Tülis, the latter identical with our work here; the Chinese form 鐵勒 T'ieh-li, Ancient *t'iet-lək*, though an inadequate representation of either, is nearer the latter form than the former. The Tölös were a large tribe, which was subsequently merged in the Uighur confederation and in the eighth century they occupied an area somewhat to the north of the places mentioned in section (*e*) of this text. It is perhaps significant that the tribe was made up of five sub-tribes, and the five names in this section may be intended to be the names of those tribes, but they do not look particularly Turkish (unless *Bākū* is meant for *Bugha* and *Kāribari* for *Qara Büri*), and have no points of similarity with the Chinese list quoted by Chavannes in *Documents sur les Tou-kioue Occidentaux*, p. 34. There is, however, a second possibility somewhat inconsistent with the above. It is tempting to see in *Aḍapahūtti* and *Añahiḍipabhūtti* below compounds derived from a Prakrit or quasi-Prakrit original in which case *-pahūtti/pabhūtti* would be derived from the Sanskrit *prabhutā* "sovereignty" or *prabhūta* "sovereign, exalted", and *Añahiḍi* would represent the Iranian goddess *Anāhitā* and the latter word would then mean "having Anāhitā as their sovereign". It is difficult, however, in that case to explain *Aḍa-*.

The next section begins a new line and starts with two dots,

(*h*) *In the Iṃjū Sī province Ttaugara, Ayabīri, Caraihi, Yabū, tti kari Añahiḍipabhūtti, Karattahapata, tti ttari Ttrūsahūta. Rrūkibayarkāta, Cūṇūḍa.*

It is not clear whether *tti kari, tti ttari* mean "these on the one hand", "those on the other hand", or are additional names, but the former seems the more probable, particularly if *Añahiḍipabhūtti* is an adjective.

It is not at all clear with what area we have to deal here. It is difficult to resist the theory that *Iṃjū Sī* is the Turkish *Yenčü Su* "Pearl River", i.e. Jaxartes of the Inscription

of Toñuquq (see Hirth's *Nachwort*, pp. 70 and 81–3) the 眞珠河 Chên-chu Ho, "Pearl River" of the *T'ang Shu*, ch. 221*b*, p. 3, and elsewhere. In that case the area is to be sought west of the Pamirs, which would agree with *Ttaugara*, which is no doubt the area known to the Arabs as Tokharestan, the country of the Tokharians. This, however, in fact lay about the upper waters of the Oxus, and not the Jaxartes.

Of the other names I can make nothing, except that they are clearly not Chinese and have an Iranian rather than a Turkish flavour. This would agree with a situation west of the Pamirs, but it is odd to find no familiar name among them beyond the first.

Islam and the Protected Religions

By A. S. TRITTON

SINCE the manuscript of *The Caliphs and their non-Muslim Subjects* was given to the printer further material has accumulated. Most of it, though interesting or amusing, only confirms what was said in the book. The *Ecclesiastical History* of Bar Hebraeus, however, gives a clearer idea of the relations between the state and the church.

Government

Some general statements give a favourable impression of Muslim rule. When the Muslims took the lordship they preserved every confession as they found it.[1] Marútha, maphrian of Tekrít, surrendered the town to the Muslims and so no one was hurt.[2] 'Umar I gave this charge to his successors, "I charge you to do good to the protected peoples and not to burden them above their strength so long as they pay their dues to the Muslims," [3] and again, "I charge you not to let yourself or any other do wrong to the protected peoples."[4] His advice to the Muslims includes rules for their behaviour to those of other beliefs: "Train horses, use the toothpick, sit in the sun, do not suffer pigs near you, do not sit at a table where wine is drunk, beware of foreign manners, do not let a believer enter a bath without a loincloth, nor a woman except for sickness." [5] When he entered Jábia he saw some Christian lepers and ordered money to be given them from the *ṣadaḳa* and food.[6]

Bar Hebraeus says that the 'Abbásids were kinder to the Christians than the Umayyads.[7]

[1] B(ar) H(ebraeus) 1, 273. Where a volume is mentioned the reference is to the Church History, the page only refers to the Syriac Chronicle.
[2] B.H. 3, 125.
[3] Jáḥiẓ B(ayán) 2, 22.
[4] Jáḥiẓ B. 2, 23.
[5] Jáḥiẓ B. 3, 97.
[6] Baládhurí 169.
[7] B.H. 3, 153.

Churches

Bar Hebraeus often mentions the building and destruction of churches. A selection of the more important references are given below. (The dates are *Hijri.*)

Before 29 one was built on the fort at Tekrít and the orthodox of Mosul wanted to build one but the catholicus bribed the judges and stopped the work.[1] About 50 that of Sergius and Bacchus was built in Tekrít.[2] About 69 that of Akhudema was built also in Tekrít[3] and about 100 a new church in Antioch.[4] In 151 a Nestorian church was built in Tekrít with the consent of the Jacobites after the Nestorians of Nisibis had restored one they had taken from the Jacobites there.[5] The governor gave permission to build one in a monastery in Kinnesrín.[6] In 346 one was built of brick and wood and fourteen years later it was rebuilt in stone.[7] In 566 a man of Márdín was taken in adultery with a Muslim woman and his property confiscated. As he had just before restored the church of Thomas it was reckoned as his and taken by the Muslims.[8] The cathedral of Malaṭia was rebuilt and the dome raised. It cost two thousand darics and took six years, being finished in 573.[9] In 579 the monastery of Bar Ṣúmá was burnt. It was three years rebuilding and the church twelve.[10]

Before 29 many churches in Kúfa and the district of Ḥíra had been destroyed.[11] About 225 five in Baṣra were destroyed.[12] In 271 the monastery of Kalílíshu‘ was destroyed through the avarice of the catholicus. The muezzin of a mosque near his cell was accustomed to get presents from him. John b. Narsi refused to give so the Muslim plotted with his friends. When a Muslim funeral passed the monastery one of them threw a stone at it and the others asserted that the stone was thrown from the monastery. So they sacked it,

[1] B.H. 3, 127.
[2] 3, 133.
[3] 3, 147.
[4] 1, 297.
[5] 3, 155.
[6] 1, 353.
[7] 1, 403 ff.
[8] 1, 561 f.
[9] 1, 565.
[10] 1, 591.
[11] 3, 131.
[12] 3, 189.

broke open the tomb of the catholicus Anúsh, put his head on a lance, and paraded it through the streets.[1] In 391 the church in the Third Market in Baghdad and the monastery of Kalílíshu' were wrecked. Others were attacked but the catholicus gave big bribes and saved them.[2] Next year the Jacobite church in the Corn Quarter was burnt and some Nestorian churches plundered. The cause was that a Muslim wanted a plot of land by the church but was refused. Then a Christian was accused of committing adultery with the wife of a Muslim baker. Then the baker was murdered. The land-hungry Muslim helped to carry the corpse through the town crying out, "A Muslim whom the Christians of the church in the Corn Quarter have killed!" During the sack the church caught fire and the mob inside could not escape and was burnt.[3] About 452 that of Akhudema in Tekrít was sacked.[4] In 566 Kurds attacked the monastery of Mattai and after some fighting were bought off for thirty dinárs. They attacked again and captured it, except the keep, winning great booty, for the people of the neighbourhood had put their valuables in it for safe keeping. The monks then abandoned it. Troops from Mosul attacked the Kurds and killed the weaklings. In revenge the Kurds raided four hundred villages of the Nestorians, killed the men, enslaved the women and children, and burned the houses.[5]

Baládhurí says that in his time the church built by Khálid al-Ḳasrí for his mother in Kúfa was turned into a post office.[6]

The Government sometimes interfered with the Christians in small matters. A little before 182 the patriarch went to Samosata, where the bishop would not let him into the church. The governor, on seeing the patriarch's commission, had the doors opened for him.[7] About 573 the church of Ámid was released from its tax of one hundred dinars.[8]

[1] 3, 211.
[2] 3, 257.
[3] 3, 261.
[4] 3, 309.
[5] 3, 363.
[6] p. 286.
[7] 1, 333.
[8] 1, 565.

The Patriarch

The head of the Jacobites was called the patriarch and the head of the Nestorians the catholicus. They were treated differently. To begin with the Jacobites. Between 29 and 47 the patriarch was supported by the Muslim monarch.[1] Elias had an audience with Walíd who received him gladly and showed him great respect.[2] John prepared great honours for Marwán when he came to Ḥarrán and was given a commission, as was done to later patriarchs in the years 138, 174, 203, and 487.[3]

David of Dárá, the schismatic, accused the patriarch George to Manṣúr of having taken his office without the caliph's permission and of levying taxes on the Christians. He alleged that George had excused himself for not getting the commission on the ground that he did not think it right for the prophet's name to come under his robe. The caliph was angry, had George fetched, and stripped. He called out in Greek, "Mother of God, help me," and one of his enemies explained that he was speaking blasphemy. Then he was flogged till his blood ran down to the ground. The caliph asked him:

"Why did you not get my commission?"

"Because I did not propose to harm any man."

"Why do you not allow the prophet's name to come under your gown?"

"The prophet's name is under our gowns and in our purses on the dirhams and dinars." He was imprisoned in Baghdad.[4]

In 191 the patriarch was accused to Hárún ul-Rashíd of being a spy of the Greeks so he sent soldiers to fetch him. He made haste to humiliate himself before the caliph, who pardoned him, telling a secretary, Ismá'íl b. Ṣáliḥ, to see to the matter. He drove away the accusers and sent the patriarch back to his monastery.[5] In 204 the people of Tekrít suffered

[1] I, 283.
[2] I, 297.
[3] I, 307, 317, 329, 353, 465.
[4] I, 323.
[5] I, 339.

from the violence of their rulers and the patriarch was advised not to enter the town.[1]

When Ma'mún decreed that any ten men of a confession might choose their head, the patriarch went to Baghdad, but before he could have an audience with the caliph a schism broke out about Lazarus the bishop. Ma'mún heard of it. After a time the patriarch got his audience, but alone without his attendant bishops. The caliph asked about the schism, so he explained that the bishop had been legally dismissed and complained of the new order. The caliph said that it applied to the Jews first for he did not wish to force a head on the Christians. The patriarch said: "Your wisdom knows that we have old promises and charters, when our fathers surrendered to you many towns, that you would not change our laws. It is evident that without a lawgiver the law cannot be upheld; and one of our laws is that our head is a churchman."

"The Christians are a nuisance, especially the Jacobites."

The talk was renewed later in the presence of lawyers.

CALIPH: Ought we to support Christian leaders where our authority rules?

LAWYERS: No. But we must not force them to change their beliefs and customs, as they are dutifully subject to us and under our rule enjoy peace.

PATRIARCH: Your fathers, O caliph, gave us authority and commissions; and you gave a commission to me. Do not now impose a new law on us.

CALIPH: Why are you Christians so afraid of this decree?

PATRIARCH: We complain because the headship of the Magians and Jews is corporal, hereditary, while ours is spiritual and leads to the fear of God. Theirs can be bought with gold, ours touches faith. We cannot inflict death, blows, or fines on evildoers but can unfrock a bishop or priest or excommunicate a layman.

The caliph issued this decree. "We do not stop you from removing offenders from their rank and dignity, but we do not

[1] 1, 353.

permit you to drive them from the church and prayers, for sinners have most need of prayer and forgiveness." He told Isaac, a lawyer, to see whether Lazarus obeyed the patriarch in his confession and to enforce this decree about him.[1]

In 220 the patriarch went to Baghdad to do homage to the new caliph Mu'tasim.[1]

After these many references to commissions given to patriarchs it is surprising to read that it was not till 376 that a catholicus received a commission from the caliph though from then on it was essential.[2] Before this date the government had interfered in Nestorian affairs, for a dispute between the catholicus and the maphrian had been brought to Mutawakkil for settlement.[3] In 286 a catholicus was chosen by lot, but John b. Bukhtíshu' did not accept the result. He wrote to the caliph asking that his father's services might not be forgotten. The eunuch Badr was sent to settle the dispute and told the bishops to accept John. They refused to select one who played with hounds and apes. When Badr assured them that he would give up these vanities they next objected that he had not been born in wedlock. Badr then advised John to submit and recommended to the caliph to give the bishops the right of free election.[4] In 293 'Abdullah b. Simeon obtained the caliph's command, went to Ctesiphon, and had Abraham elected catholicus.[5] When he died, the bishops agreed to elect one of themselves; but Abu'l Ḥasan, a lawyer of the caliph Ráḍí, compelled them to choose his nominee in 326.[6] In 350 Phetion offered three hundred thousand dirhams to the caliph to be elected. The bishops fled to avoid being compelled to choose him, but lawyers mediated between them, and the bishops had to pay one hundred and thirty thousand dirhams for the privilege of choosing their own man.[7] In 376 the caliph forced the unwilling bishops to choose Mari b. Tubi; the recalcitrant voters were beaten.[8]

[1] 1, 365 f.
[2] 1, 381.
[3] 3, 255.
[4] 3, 195.
[5] 3, 221.
[6] 3, 229.
[7] 3, 245.
[8] 3, 249.
[9] 3, 255.

In 411 the catholicus paid for his office five thousand dinars to the government which issued this order: "Whoso does not receive him shall be drowned." [1] About 450 the commission contained the words, "All princes of the Muslim world shall receive him with honour." [2] About 530 the newly elected catholicus was summoned to the gate of the palace and invested with the mitre. Accompanied by some great ones from the palace he rode on a mule to the church in the Third Quarter.[3] In 585 the newly elected maphrian could not enter Mosul without the consent of the governor.[4] In 623 Sabríshu' was made catholicus without having to pay anything to the caliph Ẓáhir on account of the reputation of his brothers.[5] About 650 the abbot of the monastery of Mattai refused to let the maphrian take his seat on his throne till he had shown his commission from Badr ud-Dín the governor of Mosul.[6] In 664, after the death of Húlágú, the Christian queen Daḳúz Khátún gave orders that Denha should be catholicus because Makíka had obtained the office by bribery and slander.[7]

Some other troubles of these dignitaries may be recorded. Athanasius Sandalána accused the patriarch of having collected from the east one hundred thousand dirhams and taken bribes for the appointment of bishops. Marwán imprisoned him in Ḥarrán and gave order that he should not be let out till he had paid fourteen thousand darics.[8] In 138 the patriarch Isaac was examined by the caliph, found ignorant, and put to death one year after his appointment.[9]

In 300 a Chalcedonian metropolitan was appointed in Baghdad. He quarrelled with the catholicus and the case came before the vizier. The catholicus claimed that the Nestorians were friends of the Muslims but the Greeks their enemies. The vizier said they were all alike, only pretending

[1] 3, 285.
[2] 3, 307.
[3] 3, 327.
[4] 3, 381.
[5] 3, 401.
[6] 3, 421.
[7] 3, 439.
[8] 1, 311.
[9] 1, 317.

to love the Muslims. This silenced the catholicus. Then he gave one thousand dinars to a lawyer who pointed out to the vizier that the Nestorians had no ruler save the caliph while the Greeks were always fighting the Muslims. It is said that the catholicus spent thirty thousand dinars in bringing the Chalcedonian patriarch to Baghdad when he arranged that he should not maintain a bishop permanently in the capital.[1] In 394 the catholicus forbade his bishops to visit the Jacobite maphrian. The Muslim friends of the maphrian appealed to Abu'l Ḥasan 'Alí b. 'Abd ul-'Azíz, secretary of the caliph Ḳádir, and an order was issued that the catholicus must go without delay to visit the maphrian. By bribes he managed to get this order cancelled. He then published the usual libel about friendship towards the Greeks, so the caliph considered the matter and pronounced that the catholicus should live in Baghdad and the Jacobite maphrian in Tekrít.[2] In 449 Abú Sa'íd, a tax collector of Iṣfahán, forced the election of Sabríshu' Zanbúr as metropolitan of Níshápúr.[3]

Bribery

Several instances of bribery have already been mentioned. Once 'Abd ul-Malik was enraged with the catholicus, and one John saw in this his opportunity, bribed the chief men and got a letter to Bishr b. Marwán. He presented the letter with gifts, so Bishr sent for the catholicus, stripped him, and gave his vestments and staff to John.[4] About 390 John, metropolitan of Fárs, gave gifts to Bahá'ud-Dawla and by his intervention was made catholicus.[5] In 411 five thousand dinars was given for this post.[6] About 483 Marcus gave three thousand to Philartus (? Philardus), two from himself and one from his monastery; then he took two bishops and forced them to elect him patriarch.[7] When Dionysius went to Mosul about 506 the priest Abu'l-Faraj sent two Turks to drive him

[1] 3, 235. [2] 3, 271. [3] 3, 301. [4] 3, 135. [5] 3, 261. [6] 3, 285. [7] 1, 457.

out of the town. The men of Tekrít bribed the governor, who expelled Abu'l-Faraj from the cathedral of the men of Tekrít.[1] At the same time the bishop of Arzân came to Mosul, gave money to the governor, and was by him permitted to exercise authority over the Christians of Nineveh; and Ibn Kutla bribed the governor to force the maphrian to make him metropolitan of his monastery.[2] About 551 Gabriel of Sarúj was accused of fornication, driven from his see, and put in prison by the governor of Malaṭia. His brother went to Kilij Arslán, son of Sultan Mas'úd, lord of Mar'ash, and gave money that he might be restored. He was sent to Damascus, a strange land where his vices were not known.[3] In 573 Denha gave bribes to get the patriarch condemned but without success. He then offered two thousand dinars to the lord of Mosul to be made head of all Mesopotamia.[4] In 576 four bishops offered money to Abu'l-Kásim of Âmid that they might appoint a patriarch to dwell in his city.[5]

In 586 seven thousand dinars were paid to the caliph for the post of catholicus and Amín ud-Dawla arranged the succession of Sabríshu' for the same sum.[6] In the same year the lord of Nisibis received two thousand dinars from rival Christians; "he was ready to take as much as they would give."[7] At the end of this century several instances of bribery are recorded at Malaṭia; Rukn ud-Dín was offered six thousand dinars and Muntajib was also bribed, but a little later the governor banished a bishop for taking a bribe to permit a divorce.[8]

In 654 the election of the catholicus was disputed. Each of the three candidates offered money to the caliph till the sum reached forty-five thousand dinars. They were told that the first to pay would be appointed. One collected four thousand and the others at once said he was in league with the Tartars. The palace believed this, so Makíka was appointed. As the Tartar attack on Baghdad happened shortly after,

[1] 3, 317. [2] 3, 323. [3] 1, 521. [4] 1, 567. [5] 1, 577. [6] 3, 371. [7] 3, 383. [8] 1, 613, 617; 3, 397.

he did not need to pay.[1] Two years later the maphrian went to Damascus and bribed the ruler to give him the see of Aleppo.[2]

From this list it follows that bribery grew more common towards the close of the 'Abbásid period. In other words the government exacted a tax on every important church appointment.

Honours

The Muslim authorities often treated the Christian dignitaries with courtesy. 'Abdullah b. Ṭáhir seems to have been genuinely fond of the patriarch, for he expostulated with him for facing the dangers of a stormy voyage when he went to Egypt to plead the cause of the Christians in Mesopotamia.[3] The same patriarch travelled again to Egypt with Ma'mún to negotiate with rebels there.[4] In 274 Aḥmad b. 'Ísá gave royal garments to the catholicus and the newly elected maphrian.[5] In 533 Mu'ayyid ud-Dín, governor of Ámid, gave a feast to the whole synod.[6] In 548 Ḥusám ud-Dín Tímúrtásh of Márdín wrote to the lord of Mosul in favour of the maphrian and tried to make peace between the Christians.[7] In 577 Ḳilij Arslán came to Malaṭia, asked after the patriarch, sent him a kind letter, a staff, and twenty dinars. The following year he came again, sent for the patriarch, and, when he came riding, would not let him dismount but embraced him as he was. He talked with him through an interpreter while a cross was held on a spear over his head. Next day he gave the monastery a charter freeing it from the taxes it paid. He also gave a reliquary in the shape of a golden hand containing bones of Peter which he had captured from the Greeks.[8] In 641 the maphrian stayed so long in Baghdad that the people of Nineveh got Badr ud-Dín, the governor of Mosul, to write asking him to come back. He acknowledged the receipt of this order and was given an honourable reception with royal garments.[9]

[1] 3, 425. [2] 3, 427. [3] 1, 361. [4] 1, 373. [5] 3, 213. [6] 1, 493. [7] 3, 341. [8] 1, 589. [9] 3, 413.

PERSECUTION

Before 29 the catholicus was asked for money and on his refusal tortured and imprisoned.[1] It is said that 'Abd ul-Malik heard of the beauty of the women of Hira and told the governor to send him the virgins. The Christians fasted and prayed three days that this evil might pass from them, and on the third day it was revealed to the bishop that 'Abd ul-Malik was dead. Fortunately for his reputation another version makes Khusrau Parwíz the villain of the story.[2] Instances have been given of patriarchs being imprisoned, fined, and flogged. In 138 one was put to death.[3] The Muslims quarrelled with the maphrian of Tekrít, so accused a Christian of blaspheming the Prophet. He was taken to Baghdad and executed as he refused to turn Muslim.[4] A few years later in 204 the people of Tekrít suffered from the tyranny of their rulers and the patriarch was advised not to visit the town.[5] In 216 Afshín destroyed the villages of some Christian rebels in Egypt and carried the inhabitants captive to Syria, many dying on the road, though the caliph had tried to get them to surrender quietly.[6] In 222 the Christians everywhere suffered from the taxes which were insupportable.[7] Three years later they were in great distress.[8] Thomas of Tekrít was imprisoned for eight months through the enmity of those he had disciplined.[9] In 238 Mutawakkil put the catholicus in prison for three years as an Arian accused him of spying for the Greeks. He would not clear himself by an oath because he held them to be unlawful.[10] In 264 the catholicus and some bishops were imprisoned and fined two thousand dinars.[11] A few years later the vizier seized estates belonging to the catholicus, who got an order from the caliph for their restitution.[12] In 300 the Christians suffered because the vizier 'Alí b. 'Ísá hated the catholicus. He had asked some question about Christian practices and the catholicus had begun his

[1] 3, 131. [2] 3, 139. [3] 1, 317. [4] 3, 183. [5] 1, 363. [6] 1, 373. [7] 1, 383. [8] 3, 189. [9] 3, 195. [10] 3, 191. [11] 3, 207. [12] 3, 215.

reply with the words "You know well", implying that the vizier was almost a Christian.[1] In 357 the Byzantines killed or captured most of a Muslim army drawn largely from Antioch. In revenge the inhabitants of that town killed the Chalcedonian patriarch and destroyed many churches.[2] About 391 the governor of Dakúká reported that the Christians had thrown the head of a pig into the mosque. For some time they went in fear of their lives till it was proved that the governor was a rebel and an army was sent against him. He was captured and allowed to starve to death in prison.[3] When the maphrian entered Tekrít about 447 the Muslims stoned him so that he had to take refuge in the church of Akhudema.[4] A little later the Christians of Tekrít were scattered and the maphrian fled to Mosul and did not return till 506, when the new governor, an Armenian named Mujáhid ud-Dín, was kindly disposed to them.[5] Later again the maphrian was imprisoned and fined one hundred and fifty dinars.[6] An enemy told the judge of Mosul that the maphrian was bound to give him a mule and had failed to do so. The judge took one by force.[7] In 561 the bishop of Malaṭia was fined three hundred darics; as the citizens disliked him they would not help him to pay.[8] In 565 the governor of Márdín seized a house belonging to a Christian and incorporated it into the mosque. Not long after he fell from his horse and was sorry for his high-handed action, but the house was not given back.[9] In 615 the maphrian visited Tekrít and was received by a procession with crosses, Gospels, and hymns both in Syriac and Arabic. The Muslims complained to the caliph, who decreed that the maphrian being a stranger was without blame, but that the local Christians were to be despoiled of their property. The local Muslims thought that this might have unpleasant consequences for themselves, so they substituted for it a fine of twenty thousand dinars and put the

[1] 3, 241.
[2] 190.
[3] 3, 259.
[4] 3, 305.
[5] 3, 309, 317.
[6] 3, 319.
[7] 3, 323.
[8] 1, 543.
[9] 1, 559.

maphrian in prison till it was paid. When the money was paid and the prisoner not released, the Christians appealed to Badr ud-Dín Lu'lu', governor of Mosul; he used his influence and the maphrian was set free.[1] In 628 the Kurds of Ṭúr 'Abdín attacked the Christians, so the maphrian took up arms, went out to fight them, and was killed.[2]

In this record of fines and imprisonment we have only one side of the case; if we could hear the other party we might see that some of the stories are records of justice. One thing stands out clearly: much depended on the governor; if he was a friend, the Christians were not troubled.

Theological Discussion

'Abd ul-Malik came to the land of Sin'ár (?) where the catholicus met him and prayed for his welfare. The caliph asked his opinion of the Muslim religion. He said, "A kingdom that stands by the sword and is not confirmed by miracles like that of Christ and the old covenant given by Moses." The caliph was furious and wanted to have his tongue torn out, but was restrained from doing so. He forbade him to come into his presence again.[3]

The Nestorian metropolitan in Merw committed sodomy, was excommunicated, turned Muslim, and received gifts from the caliph. He accused the Christians of praying for the success of the Greeks. The caliph threatened to destroy the Christians, but his doctor, Abú Ḳuraish 'Ísá, told him that the Greeks hated the eastern Christians more bitterly than the Jews. A respected patrician chanced to be a prisoner, so the caliph asked him about the Nestorians. He knew of the apostate's knavery, so said that they were not Christians but were more like Muslims than Greeks.[4]

Sergius, an Arian doctor, disputed with the catholicus in the presence of the caliph about 254. The Arian played for the support of the Muslims by claiming to be truly Christian

[1] 389 f. [2] 3, 405. [3] 3, 135. [4] 3, 171.

as he did not admit that God had a son. The catholicus turned the tables on him by asking the Muslims present what the Koran said about Christians. They said at once that according to the Koran Christians believe that Jesus is the Son of God. The caliph liked the doctor, so did not force him to become a Muslim, though he did so before long.[1]

Social Conditions

Often Muslims treated their Christian neighbours most generously. Thus during the reign of 'Umar I the mother of Ḥárith b. ul-Sawdá died. The notables had gathered for the funeral when Ḥárith heard a tumult among the women; they had found a cross on her neck and knew that she had died a Christian. He told the company to go away, saying "She has co-religionists who are nearer to her than you". His action was approved.[2]

A Muslim beat the *náḳús* for his aged father who was either the priest or sacristan of a church.[3] Abú Ṭamaḥán wrote these verses in praise of Christians of the Banú Ḥaddá.

"It is as if there was not in the castle of Muḳátil and Zawra
the shadow of a gentle friend.
I do not go down to Baṭḥá to mix its water with old wine
from Birwúḳatán.
With me were men in flowing robes, eloquent when wine
ran in them.
Sons of the cross and of Ḥaddá; in every chief strains of
a noble race.
Though Christians, I love them; and my heart goes out to
them in desire."[4]

Some held that a *dhimmí* sorcerer ought not to be put to death unless he had injured Muslims and so broken the covenant; but Abú Ḥanífa ruled that he should be executed.[5]

They could enjoy a joke at the Christians' expense. They tell that a priest made a bet that the cross round his neck was

[1] 3, 201.
[2] Aghání (new ed.) 1, 67.
[3] Jáḥiẓ B. 3, 23.
[4] Jáḥiẓ Ḥ(ayawán) 5, 52.
[5] Damírí, Ḥayawán, 2, 248.

of wood that could not burn because it was part of the tree on which the Messiah was crucified. In this way he misled many foolish persons till a theologian brought a piece of wood from Kirmán which resisted fire better than his cross, to his confusion.[1] A poet could say, "In the battle of Sughd you stood shaking with cowardice the whole time till I thought you had turned Christian."[2] The following anecdote was meant to provoke laughter. Ibn Fihríz thought himself the most learned and cultured of men and was anxious to be catholicus. Another Christian said to him, "There cannot be on earth a more ignorant man than you." He asked why and got this answer: "You know that we only choose as catholicus a tall man, and you are short; one with a loud voice and a fine presence, while you have a weak voice and a mean figure; one with a full long beard, and yours is short and thin. We choose one who does not desire authority and you seek it passionately and openly. How can you be other than the most ignorant of men since these qualities of yours exclude you from the office of catholicus? You spend sleepless nights planning how to attain it!"[3] Some jokes are rather recondite. For example, some one said to a Shi'ite: "Mu'áwia is your maternal uncle." He replied, "I do not know, my mother is a Christian; ask her."[4]

Muslims were sometimes severe. A Christian came to condole with a Muslim who said, "The like of you does not condole with the like of me. Consider what the ignorant refrain from and make that your delight."[5] Niftawaih († 323) said, "If I say to a Jew or a Christian اطال الله بقاءك, I make a statement; but to a Muslim it is a prayer."[6]

They could appreciate a story when the laughter was not all on one side. An Indian merchant brought a fish of ambergris set with jewels to Badr ul-Jamálí († 487) and asked one thousand dinars for it. He did not buy it. As the

[1] Jáḥiẓ Ḥ. 5, 95; 6, 148.
[2] Baládhurí 412.
[3] J.B. 1, 69.
[4] Y(áḳút) Ir(shád) 1, 313.
[5] J.B. 3, 99.
[6] Y.Ir. 1, 315.

merchant went away Abu'l-Malíḥ, a Christian, met him and bought it. Some time after Abu'l-Malíḥ got drunk, insisted on cooking a fish, and roasted this one. The fragrance penetrated every house in Cairo so that Badr thought his storehouses were on fire. When he learned what had actually happened he was very angry. Next day he rebuked Abu'l-Malíḥ for buying what he had thought too dear and thus insulting him. He explained that the opposite was the case: "I bought the fish lest some lord should say that he had bought what Badr could not afford. Now it will be said that a Christian secretary bought what Badr despised." Badr was so pleased that he gave him two thousand dinars and raised his salary.[1]

Observers noted, sometimes with contempt, strange customs. Christians made fish dear so that Muslims bought it on certain days only—Thursday, Saturday, and Tuesday—hoping to get it cheap as Christians buy only a little on those days. They are the greatest eaters of fish. During Easter they slaughter many animals.[2] Elsewhere it is said that they are like the Zindíḳs and disapprove of the slaughter of animals, hating the shedding of blood, and eating meat sparingly.[3] In towns they know the time by the movements of their swine—their waking early, their morning movements, and the noises they make.[4] They claim that God said, "Quench not the lights in my houses." So churches have always a light in them day and night. Houses and priests are appointed for these lights and they endow them heavily.[5]

Muslims could be severe. In Egypt in the seventh century no Christians were allowed near Ibn ul-Baḳarí, a pervert, when he was dying.[6] In a *fatwá* delivered by Ibn Naḳḳásh in 759 it is stated that 'Umar I did not permit *dhimmís* to mount animals in the sight of Muslims. This lawyer forbade Muslims and *dhimmís* to eat from the same dish. Where

[1] Y.Ir. 2, 244.
[2] J.H. 4, 138.
[3] J.H. 4, 137.
[4] J.H. 2, 107.
[5] J.H. 4, 152.
[6] Maḳrízí, *Khiṭaṭ*, 2, 391.

their shops are close together the platform in front of a *dhimmí's* must be lower than that before a Muslim's. Muslims might not sell Bibles and a *dhimmí* corpse had to be carried to the grave with the face uncovered.[1]

Social relations were at times more than neighbourly. In 355 Abu'l Faraj al-Iṣfahání, Abu'l-Fatḥ Aḥmad, with a number of young Christian clerks, made an excusion to the convent of Tha'álib to see the gathering of Christians there and to drink by the canal of Yezdegird which ran by the monastery. A lovely girl, like a branch of myrtle blown by the wind, touched the hand of Abu'l-Fatḥ and asked him to read some verses written on the wall of the shrine. Pleased with her beauty and her sweet voice, they went with her, and inside the building she pointed with an arm like silver to the words:

"She went out at the feast in the dress of a nun,
She turned those who came and went distracted at the thought of her.
To my sorrow I saw her on the day of Tha'álib
Walking with the women, with swelling breasts among swelling breasts;
Among them she was as the moon among stars."

He told her that the verses referred to her. She stayed with him for the rest of the day and friendship grew up between them. He went to Syria and died there. What became of her is not known.[2]

Several cases are recorded of Muslims developing passions for Christian lads. Mudrik b. 'Alí al-Shaibání went mad and died for 'Amr b. Yúḥanná who lived in the convent of the Greeks.[3] (Ḥarírí saw 'Amr when he was an old man.) Yúsuf b. Hárún was devoted to a young Christian named Naṣír.[4] Sa'd, a bookseller of Edessa, conceived a passion for

[1] *Journal Asiatique*, 1851, pp. 509, 487, 511, 500.
[2] Y.Ir. 5, 158.
[3] Y.Ir. 7, 152.
[4] Y.Ir. 7, 309.

the son of an important Christian merchant and his infatuation was notorious. When the boy grew up he became a monk and Sa'd continued to visit him till the monks forbade him the monastery. He went mad and later was found dead beside it. The monks were charged with the murder, so the governor, 'Abbás b. Kaighalagh, threatened to kill the young man and flog the rest of them. They ransomed themselves for one hundred thousand dirhams. If the lad went into the town he was stoned, so they sent him to another monastery.[1]

Monks did not always bear a good reputation, for we read that if a Christian was base, mean, and hated work, he turned monk and wore wool. He trusted that in these clothes and adorned with those garments he would be supported by the rich and wealthy.[2] Monks lived long because they were celibate.[3]

The wealth of some church dignitaries has been noted. When John b. Bukhtíshu' went on a visitation (c. 293) many Greek and Nubian slaves in royal garments and silken girdles rode with him. His kitchen was carried on six camels and the rest of his baggage on mules.[4] They sometimes used their wealth and influence for charity. Thus the metropolitan gathered his Christians and persuaded them to build a tomb for Yezdegird and bury the dead emperor.[5] In 540 John of Márdín released the captives taken by Núr ud-Dín Zanjí at Edessa.[6]

Christian Arabs

A bishop of Taghlib died in 89 and one of the Christian Arabs in 127.[7] In the third century many of the Taghlib were still Christian, for Ibráhím al-Ḥarbí († 285) said that his mother belonged to Taghlib, and most of his maternal uncles were Christians.[8]

[1] Y.Ir. 2, 23 f.
[2] J.H. 1, 103.
[3] J.H. 7, 68.
[4] B.H. 3, 233.
[5] Tabarí 1, 2883.
[6] B.H. 1, 501.
[7] B.H. 1, 295, 303.
[8] Y.Ir. 1, 38.

Jews

Gharíḍ the singer, a contemporary of 'Umar b. abí Rabí'a, was a Jew and lived in Mecca.[1] He liked the voices of some monks whom he heard singing at night in a convent and, when it was suggested to him that he should make a melody like theirs, did so.[2] There was a dispute as to who should be Head of the Dispersion; the men of Babylon chose one man and those of Tiberias another. The case was taken to Ma'mún who decreed that if ten of any communion agreed to choose a head none should prevent them.[3]

A poet said of some of them:

"Among the Jews we found truthful men though of a false religion.
By your life, I and my son 'Aríḍ are as water mixed with milk.
I have gained two friends and always strive for the friendship of a worthy man."[4]

Yet they did not bear a good reputation, for a tradition says: "A Jew is never alone with a Muslim without plotting to kill him."[5] And another says: "In weak peoples pride is stronger and more general, but their state of abasement and weakness prevents it being shown (only wise men know this) like our subjects in Sind and the Jews protected by us."[6] They were not immune from slander; it was said that the Shechina in the ark of Moses was the head of a cat.[7] But Ghazálí commented favourably on their fidelity to their faith: "Consider the Jew and his steadfastness in his faith which neither threats, intimidation, insults, nor admonition, neither demonstration nor proof can shake."[8] Jáḥiẓ remarks that their piety is shown in keeping the Sabbath.[9] The fact that they did not eat eels was noted.[10] Muslims were allowed to eat game killed by Jews, Christians, and Magians.[11]

1 Aghání 3, 116.
2 Aghání 2, 397.
3 B.H. 1, 365.
4 J.H. 5, 52.
5 J.B. 2, 18.
6 J.H. 6, 22.
7 J.H. 5, 104.
8 Iḥyá 1, 90.
9 J.H. 1, 80.
10 J.H. 1, 111.
11 Damírí 2, 61.

'Alí heard one ask a Muslim about a matter of religion and said, "Ask me and let that man alone." The Jew said, "Commander of the faithful, you are a learned man." 'Alí said, "It is better for you to ask a learned man." [1]

Mu'áwia, in a letter to Ḳais b. Sa'd, called him a Jew; and Bilál b. abí Burda was also called by this name.[2] The lawyers forbade this form of abuse.

There are two traditions, that 'Umar did and did not expel the Jews from Wádi'l Ḳurá.[3] A Jew bought land in Jurf, cultivated it, and paid tithe. Málik explains that he was a foreigner and his ownership was regarded as trade.[4] Ṣafíya bint Ḥuyai left property to her Jewish relatives.[5]

Christian doctors, though enemies of the Jews, state that they have never seen a Jew who suffered from the effects of circumcision performed on the eighth day after birth, while Muslims and Christians beyond number had suffered lasting ill effects from the operation performed at a later age.[6]

In later times the Jews were numerous in Cairo, as is shown by the fact that the 'Áshúríya school was in a house which had formerly belonged to one and then was almost completely closed because it was in a road inhabited solely by them.[7]

There were degrees among *dhimmís*. Ibn Taimíya says that Ṣábians and Magians are worse than Jews and Christians, while those who claim godhead for 'Alí are worse heathen than Jews and Christians.[8] He also noted resemblances between the Jews and the Shí'ites. The one have kings from the house of David, the other *imáms* from the family of 'Alí. Jews postpone prayers till the stars shine and Shí'ites the sunset prayer till they are fully out. Both do not keep the *ḳibla* exactly, sway in prayer, and let their robes hang down. Both say that God ordained fifty prayers. Neither regards the wiping of the shoes before prayer as sufficient.

[1] Mubarrad 553.
[2] Mubarrad 298; J.B. 1, 179.
[3] Baládhurí 34.
[4] Baládhurí 75.
[5] Minháj ul-Sunna 3, 197.
[6] J.H. 7, 11.
[7] Maḳrízí 2, 368.
[8] Minháj ul-Sunna 2, 101.

Both regard the taking of others' property as lawful. One falsified the Law, the other the Koran. Both greet Muslims with "Death be on you". The Jews say that Gabriel is their enemy, the Shí'ites that he was mistaken in giving the revelation to Muḥammad. Both allow *mut'a* marriage.[1]

Magians

Ziyád b. Abíhi sent an expedition that penetrated to Sijistan putting out the sacred fires. Káriyán is especially mentioned, but the fire there was evidently lighted again, for Yáḳút says that in his day fire was taken from it to other temples.[2] In Armenia the Less is a temple the roof of which was coated with mortar. Below the spout from the roof is a tank to collect the rain. If water runs short they wash the roof with water from this tank; rain then falls.[3] The Magians kept their own marriage laws though in some ways they were worse off than other *dhimmís*. 'Umar I dissolved certain of their marriages, but Sháfi'í thinks that one of the parties concerned must have asked him to interfere.[4] One of them paid the bride-price for a Muslim, who rewarded him in verse:—

"I testify to the goodness of your nature, you are a great sea of generosity.
You are the lord of the people of hell when you perish among those who sin.
The equal of Haman in its depth, of Pharaoh, and him called Abú Ḥakam.
A Magian gave me the bride-price of the Ribáb; may my uncles be a ransom for the Magian."[5]

A writer noted that no man with a religion ever turned from his own faith to that of the Magians,[6] but sometimes the laugh was on the other side. A Muslim who did not

[1] Minháj ul-Sunna 1, 6.
[2] J.H. 4, 153.
[3] Nuzhat ul-Ḳulub 293.
[4] Kitáb ul-Umm 4, 133.
[5] J.H. 5, 52.
[6] J.H. 5, 99.

believe in the freedom of the will asked a Magian, "Why do you not turn Muslim?"

"I shall when God wills," was the answer.

"God has willed it but Satan does not let you."

"I am on the side of the stronger." [1]

A Magian, Abu Naṣr Khwásháda, was secretary to 'Aḍud ud-Dawla the Buwaihid sultan.[2]

Jáḥiẓ repeats some Zoroastrian legends for the amusement of his readers. God made mice and the devil cats; which is strange as the mouse is destructive. When a cat micturates in the sea it kills ten thousand fish.[3] At creation poison was distributed to the animals as they came for it. One lizard came in the middle of the crowd and got a little with which it feeds snakes. Another came too late, when the poison was exhausted, so it is inconsolable and lives in dung-hills and ruins. If it halts suddenly when running you may know it has just remembered its loss.[4] It was believed that a certain ulcer could be cured by the spittle of a child begotten by a Magian on his sister.[5]

Zoroaster was a subject of discussion. Some held that his success was due to royal aid, others maintained that he succeeded because he was a prophet.[6] In the next world cold is the means of punishment. This is proof that he was sent to mountaineers only.[7]

They say that an animal which has been strangled or killed by a blow has sweeter flesh for the blood in it; the blood is the sweet part of the fat.[8]

ṢÁBIANS

The Ṣábians kept their principles, for Ibráhím b. Hilál († 384) was offered one thousand dinars if he would eat broad beans, and refused as they were forbidden to eat them.[9]

[1] 'Uyún ul-Akhbár 2, 142.
[2] Y.Ir. 5, 357.
[3] J.H. 4, 99; 5, 98.
[4] J.H. 4, 99.
[5] Lisán ul-Arab 14, 204.
[6] J.H. 5, 99.
[7] J.H. 5, 25.
[8] J.H. 4, 34.
[9] Y.Ir. 1, 324 n.

The caliph Ḳáhir asked a lawyer his opinion about them, and he said that they might be put to death because they differed from the Jews and Christians and worshipped the stars. The Ṣábians collected much money and so turned the caliph from his purpose.[1]

Christian Legend

One author mentions the miracle of the Holy Fire and says, as is perhaps natural in a Muslim, that it is a fraud.[2] Another refers to the removal of the Holy Handkerchief from Edessa.[3]

To the realm of pure legend belongs the story that the *ṭalḥ* and *saydl* trees grew thorns first on the day when the Christians said that Christ was the Son of God.[4] David is quoted as saying, "My desire for Christ is like that of a hart which is thirsty after eating snakes." The explanation given is that the animal walks round the water but dare not drink, for it knows that to drink would kill it. The water would mix with the poison of the snakes and penetrate its whole body. Provided that it does not drink soon after eating a snake the poison is harmless.[5] It is also said that the rhinoceros is mentioned in the Psalms. The animal meant is that called in the authorized version the unicorn.[6]

Apostasy

About 300 one Theodore committed fornication with a Muslim woman and then turned Muslim, and fifty years later the bishop of Adherbaiján turned Muslim in similar circumstances.[7] About 545 Aaron bishop of Ḥadíth committed fornication, was excommunicated, and turned Muslim. Later he repented and reverted. As he was not reinstated he went to Constantinople and became a Chalcedonian, but later came back to the patriarch who had mercy on him and in a synod gave him licence to anoint. This angered

[1] Subkí, *Ṭabaḳát*, 2, 193.
[2] J.H. 6, 62.
[3] Subkí 2, 179, 184.
[4] J.H. 4, 68.
[5] J.H. 7, 12.
[6] J.H. 7, 40.
[7] B.H. 3, 229, 247.

the maphrian. The patriarch accused the maphrian of having ordained Aaron without investigation, and further of hindering his penitence. Finally, the maphrian was justified, for this madman again without cause joined the Muslims. A second time he reverted, went to Jerusalem, and there joined the Maronites.[1] This shows clearly that the law punishing apostasy with death was not always enforced. The tale of Ma'mún reveals the Muslim rule as merciful.

An apostate from Khorásán was brought before Ma'mún and a discussion arose between the caliph and the captive. Ma'mún said, "I should prefer sparing your life justly to putting you to death justly, and pardoning you freely to condemning you on suspicion." The apostate said that he had been disgusted by the differences among the Muslims. Ma'mún pointed out that these differences were about minor things such as the precise form of the call to prayer and argued that in every religion there were differences about the interpretation of the sacred books. The apostate who had been a Christian returned to Islam.[2]

Dress

The poet Shammákh notes that Christians wore shoes of black leather.[3] In 391 two Muslims tried to make the Christians of Baghdad wear humiliating garments to distinguish them from the Muslims. They mocked a Christian astronomer because he had not put on these clothes. He complained to the ruler in whose service he was and the two men were thrown into prison. Then a riot broke out.[4]

Asad ud-Dín Shírkúh made the Christians wear the *ghiyár*, turbans without a hanging end, the *zunnár*, made them cut the hair on their foreheads, and dismissed them from government service.[5] In the *fatwá* of Ibn Nakkásh it is stated that

[1] B.H. 1, 517.
[2] J.B. 3, 186 f.; cf. 'Uyún ul-Akhbár 2, 154.
[3] Díwán 11.
[4] B.H. 3, 257.
[5] Y.Ir. 2, 247.

the *ḳalansuwa* of the Christian had a slit in front while the turban and the *ṭailasán* were forbidden them.[1]

Wine

Some Muslims drank wine and some sold it. This follows from a saying preserved in two forms. The perfect wine-seller should be a *dhimmí* with a Persian, Jewish, or Christian name, variegated clothes, and a seal on his neck.[2] I do not profit from the drinking of wine unless the seller is not a Muslim, an old man who does not speak good Arabic. If a Magian, his name must be Shahriyár or Máziyár or such-like; if a Jew, Manasse or Solomon; and if a Christian, Joshua or Simeon.[3]

Blood Money

In 360 two Muslims were killed at night in a mosque near the convent of Michael in Mosul. Abú Taghlib b. Náṣir ud-Dawla fined the Christians a hundred and twenty thousand dirhams.[4] The legal justification, if any, for this action is probably the rule that if a Muslim was killed by persons unknown in a land inhabited by *dhimmís*, the country should pay the blood-wit. There is no reason to assume that Christians committed the murder in the mosque.

Holy Ground

Abú Lu'lu'a was a Magian, a slave of Mughíra, to whom he paid four dirhams a day from his trade of making mills. He asked 'Umar to use his influence to get this toll reduced. He felt sympathy for the *dhimmís* brought captive to Medina and killed 'Umar to avenge his co-religionists and because his request had been ignored.[5] Some believed him to be a Christian. One Ḥafna, a Christian of Nejrán, was killed because he was suspected of being privy to the murder of

[1] p. 505.
[2] J.B. 1, 52.
[3] J.H. 2, 124.
[4] B.H. 192.
[5] Minháj ul-Sunna 3, 243.

the caliph.[1] Ibn Zubair brought in foreign masons to repair the Ka'ba.[2]

Taxes

Dhimmís in Yemen paid poll tax and double land tax.[3] Some of the Ibáḍis did not approve of taking the *jizya* from Christians.[4] The people of Egypt were exhausted and burdened above their strength.[5] In 222 the Christians suffered from unbearable taxes.[6]

The mosque of Kúfa was built from the materials of the palaces of the kings of Ḥíra; the value of them being deducted from the tribute of Ḥíra.[7] In the reign of Hárún ul-Rashíd some estates were deserted. He sent Harthama to see to the cultivation of them. He invited some of the peasants and farmers to return to them and promised to reduce their taxes and deal with them leniently. These were called Men of Reductions. Later others came back and received their lands on the previous terms; these were called Men of Restitution.[8] This statement has evidently to be combined with the other that Hárún ul-Rashíd increased the taxes on the Christians so that many deserted their farms.

Bahá'ud-Dín 'Alí b. Muḥammad, who was vizier from 654 to 677, doubled the poll tax.[9]

Doctors

Abú Ḳuraish 'Ísá was a favourite of Khaizurán, though Bar Hebraeus exaggerates slightly the story as told by Muslims.[10] A doctor who was not a Muslim was sent to Ṭabarí in his last illness.[11] In the time of Ghazálí in many towns the only doctor was a *dhimmí*.[12] Ibn Muḳashshar, a Christian, was doctor at the court of the Fáṭimide caliph

1 Damírí 1, 314.
2 Aghání 1, 250.
3 Baládhurí 75.
4 Ibn Ḥazm, *Milal*, 4, 189.
5 Baládhurí 217.
6 B.H. 1, 383.
7 Baládhurí 286.
8 Baládhurí 144.
9 Maḳrízí 2, 369
10 B.H. 3, 163.
11 Y.Ir. 6, 462.
12 Iḥyá 1, 16.

Ḥákim.[1] From the words "like a madman escaped from a monastery" used by Badí' uz-Zamán in one of his Assemblies we may conclude that monasteries were sometimes used as asylums.[2]

LITERATURE

Somewhere between 10 and 29 'Amr b. Sa'd, the governor of the Muslims, called the patriarch Athanasius and asked him to translate the Gospel into Arabic, but without describing Christ as God or mentioning the baptism or crucifixion. He answered that he would not take one jot or one tittle from the Gospel though all the arrows and lances of the army went through him. When the governor saw his boldness he told him to write as he thought fit.[3]

Jáḥiẓ wrote a book about Jews and Christians.[4] Muḥammad b. Isḥák learnt from Jews and Christians and called them the first scholars.[5] In the third century Yúsuf b. Ibráhím was a pupil of the Nestorian doctor 'Ísá b. Ḥakam of Damascus.[6] Ḳudáma b. Ja'far, mentioned by Ḥarírí as a master of language, was at first Christian but turned Muslim; he died in 338.[7] Muḥassin b. Ibráhím b. Hilál, the Ṣábian († 401), studied under Muslim masters.[8]

Isḥák b. Yaḥyá b. Shuraiḥ, a Christian secretary born in 300, was an authority on tribute and the supervision of officials. He wrote the *Book of Tribute* in one thousand folios, the *Popular Book of Tribute* in two hundred folios, the *Small Book of Tribute* in one hundred, the *Conversion of Dates, Councils at the Capital*, and a *Summary of History*.[9] 'Alí b. Naṣr († 377), also a Christian secretary, wrote the Book of the *Reformation of Character*, the *Companionship of the Monarch*, and the *Book of Success*.[10] 'Alí b. 'Ísá (c. 400) wrote the *Oculist's Guide*.[11] Abú 'Alí 'Ísá b. Zur'a was an author as well as translator.[12]

[1] Y.Ir. 5, 427.
[2] Saimiríya.
[3] B.H. 1, 275.
[4] J.H. 1, 5.
[5] Y.Ir. 6, 401.
[6] Y.Ir. 2, 157.
[7] Y.Ir. 6, 203.
[8] Y.Ir. 6, 244.
[9] Y.Ir. 2, 238.
[10] Y.Ir. 5, 432.
[11] B.H. 3, 277.
[12] B.H. 3, 277.

Ya'ḳúb, alias Severus b. Shaḳḳú, had a big library; at his death it was placed in the treasury of the governor of Mosul.[1]

Christian and Muslim boys attended the same school.[2]

GOVERNMENT SERVICE

According to the *fatwá* of Ibn Naḳḳásh *dhimmís* were turned out of government service by 'Umar II, Manṣúr, Mahdí, Hárún ul-Rashíd, Ma'mún, Mutawakkil, and Muḳtadir. Complaint was made to Rádí of the same matter. In Egypt, Najm ud-Dín Ayyúb (637–47), Muḥammad b. Ḳaláwún (700), Ṣaláḥ (752–5), and Ḥasan (748-62) dismissed them.[3]

A few *dhimmís* were viziers, Ṣá'id under Mu'tamid, 'Abdún b. Ṣá'id, while the Christian Ibn Málik succeeded the Jew Ibn Faḍlán in the reign of Rádí.[4] Dalíl b. Ya'ḳúb was secretary to Bughá and then to Mutawakkil.[5] Ḥusain b. 'Amr was in charge of the expenditure and estates of the army in Rai.[6]

In Egypt, 'Azíz had as chief secretary Abu'l-Nuṣúr, and Mustanṣir had the Jew Ibn abi'd-Dam.[7]

A Christian turned Muslim and became vizier. A man called on him, was told that he was at prayer, and came back later to find him still praying. "It is excusable; all novelties are amusing." [8]

[1] B.H. 3, 411.
[2] Tuḥfat ul-Aḥbáb 11 (margin of Maḳḳarí, v, 4, Egypt, A.H. 1302).
[3] J.A., p. 416 f.
[4] Y.Ir. 2, 130, 259; J.A. 458.
[5] Y.Ir. 2, 130.
[6] Ṭab. iii, 2140.
[7] Ḥusn ul-Muḥáḍara 2, 146; Maḳrízi 2, 291.
[8] Y.Ir. 7, 65.

Une etoffe orientale, le *kaunakes*

Par JEAN PRZYLUSKI

EN 1887, Léon Heuzey consacra au *kaunakès* une étude fondamentale [1] dont il n'est pas superflu de reproduire ici les passages essentiels, car cet article n'est pas mentionné dans plusieurs travaux récents dont j'aurai ci-après à discuter les conclusions.

" Dans le Vocabulaire de Julius Pollux, qui, sous prétexte de nous donner des leçons de mots, nous donne, sur toute la vie antique, de si précieuses leçons de choses, j'ai trouvé," dit L. Heuzey, " au milieu d'une série de noms de vêtements barbares, la brève indication suivante, qui a été pour moi un trait de lumière : Βαβυλωνίων δ' ἐστὶν ὁ καυνάκης.[2] Les Babyloniens avaient donc une pièce nationale de leur costume qui s'appelait *kaunakès*. Quelques lignes plus haut, je lis même que l'usage s'en était conservé chez les Perses.

" Pollux cite même à ce propos un passage bien connu des *Guêpes* d'Aristophane, où nous allons trouver sur le vêtement en question des indications plus précises. C'est la scène où Bdélycléon offre à son père Philocléon un luxueux manteau, qu'il a précédemment qualifié de χλαῖνα, l'assimilant au châle épais et laineux dont les Grecs se couvraient en hiver. En apercevant l'étoffe dont son fils veut le couvrir, le vieux juge se révolte :

PHIL.—Par tous les dieux, quel est ce fléau ?

BDÉL.—Les uns l'appellent *persis*, les autres *kaunakès*.

PHIL.—Vraiment, je le prenais pour une *sisyra* du bourg de Thymaetes.'

" Ainsi, il s'agit certainement d'une étoffe orientale tellement velue qu'elle ressemblait à une toison : car la *sisyra*

[1] "Une étoffe chaldéenne (le kaunakès)," dans *Revue Archéologique*, 1887, 16 pp., 2 pl., 6 fig.

[2] Pollux, *Onomasticon*, vii, 60 et 59.

était un vêtement de peau de chèvre ou de mouton, fabriqué en Attique. Toute la plaisanterie est dans l'erreur analogue à celle qui fait encore aujourd'hui prendre souvent pour une peau de mouton la *flocata* des pallicares. Poursuivons, dans le texte même du poète comique, la lecture de cette curieuse scène :

BDÉL.—Ton erreur n'a rien d'étonnant, car tu n'es jamais allé à Sardes ; tu saurais alors ce que c'est, tandis que tu l'ignores absolument.' Et plus loin : 'Cela se fabrique à Ecbatane.'

PHIL.—On fait donc à Ecbatane des *intestins de trame* ?

BDÉL.—Que veux-tu dire ? Sais-tu que, chez les barbares, cette étoffe se tisse à grands frais : à lui seul, ce manteau a dévoré largement un talent de laine.

PHIL.—On devrait donc l'appeler *mange-laine* plus justement que *kaunakès*.'

"La comparaison de la trame de ce tissu avec l'aspect que présenteraient des *intestins* ou des *boudins* de laine est surtout significative :

'Ἐν Ἐκβατάνοισι γίγνεται κρόκης χόλιξ ;

"Le scoliaste a parfaitement compris qu'il s'agissait des mèches saillantes et tortillées, produites par la trame de l'étoffe : τὰς ἐξοχὰς τῶν κρόκων.

"Ensuite vient une série de plaisanteries sur la chaleur du vêtement : le vieillard se plaint qu'on *l'habille avec un four* ; il demande que l'on apporte un *croc*, 'pour me retirer,' dit-il, 'avant que je ne sois fondu !' On remarquera aussi que le poète se sert des expressions ἀναβαλοῦ, ἀναβαλοῦ τριβωνικῶς, convenant à un manteau dans lequel on se drape en le rejetant sur l'épaule, comme le manteau grec.

"Ainsi, le vêtement appelé *kaunakès*, qui pouvait se draper comme la *chlaina* ou comme le *tribon* des Grecs, était une étoffe d'un grand prix, chaude et très velue, dont la laine tombait en longues mèches frisées. On la fabriquait non seulement en Babylonie, mais encore à Ecbatane ; elle s'était

répandue dans l'Asie-Mineure, jusqu'en Lydie et jusqu'à Sardes, et, de là, on l'exportait même en Grèce. Il y a tout cela dans le texte du poète comique."

. . . .

"La conclusion à tirer de ces indications techniques, c'est que le *kaunakès* appartenait (comme on dirait dans le langage spécial de nos expositions) au même *groupe de tissus* que les tapis. Il est tout à fait logique et naturel qu'une pareille étoffe ait pris naissance au milieu de la grande fabrique de tapisseries dont cette partie de l'Asie a été de tout temps la source féconde, intarissable. C'était là évidemment l'un des produits les plus merveilleux des fameux ateliers de tissage dont la Chaldée et Babylone furent les centres très antiques, ateliers où l'on associait les plus belles teintures aux laines les plus fines de l'Orient. On parvenait ainsi à transporter dans une étoffe, sous leur aspect presque vivant, les magnifiques toisons qui font encore aujourd'hui la réputation des chèvres d'Angora ou des troupeaux de Kachmyr.

"Quant au mot *kaunakès*," dit en terminant L. Heuzey, "emprunté par les Grecs aux langues asiatiques pour désigner une étoffe chaldéenne, les orientalistes auront à rechercher s'il est lui-même chaldéen, assyrien ou perse, ou s'il se rattache à quelque autre idiome de l'Asie antérieure." C'est cette question que je me propose d'examiner ici tout d'abord.

En 1924, M. Jarl Charpentier[1] a essayé d'expliquer une série de mots indiens, iraniens et autres par un élargissement en *-n-* de la racine indo-européenne qui désigne le bœuf. Pāṇini connaît *goṇa* "taureau, bœuf" et Patañjali a *goṇī* "vache". A ces formes communes au sanskrit et au moyen-indien, M. Charpentier veut rattacher *goṇī* "sac". Il cite en outre, sur le domaine iranien, schughnī *γaun* "grober Sack, Beutel". Le latin *gaunacum* (Varr.) pourrait, à son

[1] "Beiträge zur indoiranischen Wortkunde," dans *Le Monde Oriental*, vol. xiii, pp. 32–3.

avis, provenir du vieux-perse non attesté *gauna(ka) " peau de bœuf ". Mais il laisse de côté grec καυνάκης dont la relation avec les mots précédents lui semble obscure.

Une tentative du même genre a été faite récemment par M. Carlton C. Rice [1] qui cherche à expliquer skr. *guṇá* par le nom du bœuf. Les sens successifs seraient 1) " bovine ", 2) " bovine sinew ", 3) " sinew ", 4) " bow-string ", 5) " strand, cord (of rope) ", etc.

Malgré le talent avec lequel ces théories ont été présentées, je ne crois pas qu'elles soient exactes. *Goṇī* " sac " ne peut guère provenir du nom du bœuf. Il en est de même de *γaun* et de *gaunacum*. Quant à skr. *guṇá*, il n'a pris qu'assez tard, et par accident, le sens de " bow-string " ; les significations anciennes " fil, cordon " (cf. *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā*, 7, 2, 4, 2) ne permettent de supposer aucun rapport avec *gó*.

Dans la *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* de 1928, M. Ed. Schwyzer [2] a montré qu'une forme γαυνάκης est attestée en grec dès le 3me siècle avant J.-C. C'est également avec la sonore initiale que le mot a passé en latin : *gaunacum*. Puisque le témoignage grec le plus ancien fait venir cette étoffe d'Ecbatane, il faut chercher dans l'Iran l'origine de son nom. Après Bartholomae, M. Schwyzer suppose " eine altiranische Bildung **gaunaka-* als adj. haarig, farbig, Farbiger (substantiviert) ".

Cette construction repose uniquement sur une forme iranienne non attestée : **gaunaka* ; il y aurait avantage à l'étayer sur d'autres faits. En outre, l'exposé de M. Schwyzer attribue sans doute trop d'importance à la notion de couleur. D'après tout ce que nous savons du *kaunakès*, le caractère principal de cette étoffe n'est pas sa couleur, mais son aspect velu qui la fait ressembler à une toison.

Les auteurs précédents n'ont pas accordé assez d'attention aux faits indiens. Ils ont surtout considéré *goṇī* qui est

[1] "The Etymology of Sanskrit *guṇá*," dans *Language*, Mars, 1930, pp. 36–40.

[2] *Iranisches*, p. 234 et suiv.

équivoque. Plus important et plus clair est le pali *goṇaka* auquel correspond en sanskrit bouddhique *goṇika*, et pour lequel on trouve aussi la forme *gonaka*. Le Dictionnaire pali de Rhys Davids et Stede donne les indications suivantes : *goṇaka* " a woollen cover with long fleece " (*DA.*, i, 86 : *dīgha-lomako mahākojavo* ; *caturaṅgulādhikāni kira tassa lomāni*).

On voit que *goṇaka*, de même que *kaunakès*, *gaunacum*, désignait une étoffe à longs poils. L'existence et le nom de ce produit sont donc attestés depuis l'Inde jusqu'à la Grèce et l'Italie. D'autre part, les commentaires indiens ne fournissant aucune indication sur la couleur du *goṇaka*, il est très douteux que celle-ci soit un trait caractéristique.

Pali *goṇaka* et skr. bouddhique *goṇika* devaient être sentis comme des équivalents moyen-indiens de skr. **gauṇaka*. Quant à la graphie sans cérébrale, *gonaka*, c'est probablement une faute due à la négligence des scribes.

En iranien, *gaona* signifie " poil " et par extension " couleur ". De " poil " à " couleur " le passage est aisé. En français, par exemple, lorsqu'on parle du cheval et de quelques autres animaux, " poil " signifie " couleur ". Dire " de quel poil est ce cheval ? " revient à demander quelle est sa couleur. A partir de *gaona* " poil " on s'explique aisément la formation d'un dérivé iranien **gaunaka* désignant une étoffe à longs poils, le *kaunakès*. Dans **gaunaka*, la notion de couleur n'est qu'accessoire et il n'y a pas lieu de lui attribuer une importance particulière.

En regard de av. *gaona*, il est tentant de poser skr. *guṇa*. Wackernagel les a déjà rapprochés, bien qu'il donne pour les deux mots des sens assez divergents. *AV. guṇá-* " Schicht, Abteilung " : av. *gaona-* " Farbe, Fülle " Justi.[1] Skr. *guṇá* signifie " partie, division " et aussi " fil, cordon ", mais il

[1] *Altind. Gram.* i, 173. Même rapprochement dans Uhlenbeck, qui fait toutefois des réserves (*Etym. Wörterbuch der altind. Sprache*, *s.v. guṇá*. Cf. E. und J. Leumann, *Etym. Wörterbuch der Sanskritsprache*, Lief. 1, Heft. 1, 1907.

n'a jamais le sens de "poil". De plus, entre *guṇa* (avec *ṇ* et *ṇ*) et *gaona*, la différence est phonétiquement assez grande.

Puisqu'on avait en moyen-indien *goṇaka*, *goṇika*,[1] noms d'étoffe à longs poils ou à longs fils conçus comme des équivalents de skr. **gaunaka*, skr. *guṇa* "fil" peut avoir été refait sur **gaunaka*. Quant à *goṇaka*, nom d'une étoffe d'origine chaldéenne et fabriquée ensuite dans l'Iran, il est sans doute un emprunt du moyen-indien à l'iranien. Ainsi, la liaison s'établit par l'intermédiaire de l'Iran, entre grec *καυνάκης*/ *γαυνάκης* et indo-aryen *goṇaka*.

Enfin, dans la langue philosophique, skr. *guṇa* a pris une valeur particulière; il signifie "sorte, espèce", et désigne également les éléments des êtres en relation avec une couleur déterminée. En iranien, *gaona* signifie non seulement "poil" mais aussi "couleur, sorte, espèce".[2] Skr. *guṇa*, dans la langue philosophique, a donc la même valeur qu'iranien *gaona*. Cette coincidence s'explique aisément si, comme j'ai tenté de l'établir ailleurs, la théorie indienne des *guṇa* a une origine occidentale.[3] A un mot *guṇa* "fil", tiré de *goṇaka* nom d'une étoffe iranienne, les philosophes ont ajouté des sens qui sont proprement ceux de l'iranien *gaona*.[4] L'étude du commerce des étoffes confirme donc ce que l'histoire des doctrines nous avait permis de deviner: l'une et l'autre révèlent, entre l'Inde et l'Iran, des échanges d'idées ou de produits.

Sur le domaine indo-européen, le problème s'élargit encore, parce qu'on trouve dans les langues slaves des formes *gunja*

[1] *Goṇī* "sac" paraît bien être l'équivalent de *goṇika*. Le sac aurait été désigné ainsi parce qu'il était fait d'une étoffe velue. Chinois *ku-na* est probablement un emprunt à l'iranien. Cf. Laufer, *Sino-iranica*, p. 496.

[2] Cf. Schwyzer, ibid., p. 241.

[3] "La théorie des guṇa" article sous presse dans *BSOS*.

[4] Oldenberg a supposé que le mot *guṇa* "fil, cordon" a été choisi pour désigner les éléments constitutifs de la matière parce qu'une corde est faite de plusieurs fils. Mais tous les fils d'un câble sont de même nature et ce qui caractérise la théorie des *guṇa* c'est que les éléments des êtres sont essentiellement différents et en relation avec une couleur déterminée. Par là, *guṇa* de la langue philosophique s'apparente à av. *gaona*, non à *goṇaka*.

(*guna*), *gunj*. M. Schwyzer incline à expliquer celles-ci par un emprunt ancien à l'iranien et il suppose une forme iranienne **gaunya* qui signifierait " die Farbige ". C'est encore attacher trop d'importance à la notion de couleur qui n'apparaît pas sous les mots slaves.

Mon collègue, M. Vaillant, à qui j'ai demandé des précisions, a bien voulu me fournir les indications suivantes :

" Le mot *gunja* (*guna*), *gunj* se rencontre dans toutes les langues slaves, mais il peut être relativement tardif. Il n'est attesté sûrement, semble-t-il, que depuis le XIV° siècle (serbo-croate, tchèque).

" Les sens sont : 'étoffe poilue' (cf. tchèque *huňatý* 'poilu, velu')—'étoffe grossière'—en particulier 'manteau (de drap grossier)'—'manteau de poil de chèvre'—'veste de fourrure' (en russe : 'fourrure usagée qui a perdu ses poils').

" Les formes sont : *gunja* (fém.) tchèque, polonais, russe, slovène, bulgare. *guna*, russe et bulgare ; mais il doit s'agir (sûrement pour le bulgare *gúna* 'fourrure') d'un emprunt plus récent au grec. *gunj* (masc.) serbo-croate, slovène.

" On admet (Berneker, Niederle, Schrader-Nehring) que c'est un mot de civilisation emprunté au costume gréco-latin du Moyen-Age : gr. γούνα (γούννα, γοῦνα, comme on veut l'orthographier), lat. *gunna* 'fourrure' (ital. *gonna*, v. fr. *gonne*, *gonnelle*, etc.) ; donc 'surtout (manteau, tunique) fourré', 'pelisse'.

" La forme slave ne répond pas exactement à la forme gréco-latine (*guna* du bulgare, et sans doute du russe, étant à part comme emprunt plus récent). On pourrait supposer un dérivé latin *gunneu*—(masc. ou fém.) adjectif au sens de 'fourré'—mais ce dérivé n'est pas chez Du Cange.

" Ce qu'on peut dire pour le slave, c'est que le mot peut avoir—théoriquement—deux origines : ou bien, c'est un emprunt, postérieur à la période du slave commun (où *ū* > *y*, *ŭ* > ъ), au gréco-latin *gunna*, mais alors nous trouvons un

élargissement *-j-* supposant quelque chose comme **gunnea* ; ou bien, si c'est un vieux mot slave commun, il suppose **goun-* et ce pourrait être un dérivé en *-j-* d'un primitif *gouno-* du type de *koža* "peau" (= *koz-ja*) de *koza* "chèvre".

"Que le slave ait tiré de lui-même d'un **guna*, emprunt au gréco-latin, un dérivé *gunj-*, c'est peu vraisemblable : la forme primitive *guna* serait mieux attestée, et on ne trouverait pas *gunj-* dans toutes les langues slaves. Ce qui apparaît slave commun, ancien ou emprunt tardif, c'est *gunj-* élargi, non *guna*."

Il est donc possible, comme le montre bien M. Vaillant, que *gunj-* slave commun soit "un dérivé en *-j-* d'un primitif **gouno-*". On rejoint alors la forme iranienne *gaona-* et rien ne s'oppose à ce qu'un mot signifiant "poil", attesté ou présumé en iranien et en slave, n'appartienne au vocabulaire indo-européen.

Un dérivé slave du nom du "poil" non attesté directement peut d'autant mieux être posé que le baltique a le mot, au suffixe près :

lit. *gauraĩ* "poils—sur le corps", lette *gauri* "poils" (cf. Trautmann, *Balt.-slav. Wörterbuch*, p. 80).

Dès lors, on s'explique mieux les faits slaves : le doublet *gunja* / *gunj* devient clair s'il s'agit d'un adjectif substantivé ; et serbo-croate *gunjav* "hirsutus, villosus" se rattache à la même série.[1]

On aperçoit une aire du nom du "poil" :

1) celtique **gour-yo*, germanique **gour*, baltique *gaura-*.
2) slave **goun-*, iranien (av.) *gaona*.

On notera l'accord du slave et de l'iranien. Les autres groupes (baltique, etc.) ont un dérivé différent. Une même racine indo-européenne aurait été élargie ici en *-r-*, là en *-n-*. Sous cette dernière forme, le nom du "poil" pourrait donc

[1] Cette forme, ainsi que les faits baltiques, me sont signalés par M. Vaillant.

entrer dans un groupe de termes communs au slave et à l'iranien.[1]

En somme, il faut distinguer d'une part des noms vulgaires signifiant "poil" et d'autre part des mots de civilisation désignant une étoffe précieuse à longs poils. Les premiers, dont on n'a aucune raison de supposer la propagation d'une langue à l'autre, peuvent se rattacher à une même racine indo-européenne diversement élargie suivant les groupes. Ils ont donné des dérivés qui ont servi au sud à désigner le *kaunakès*, tandis qu'au nord, dans les langues slaves, *gunj* désigne surtout une fourrure ou un vêtement fourré. Grec *gaunakès* / *kaunakès*, latin *gaunacum* et indo-aryen *goṇaka*, *goṇika* s'expliquent tous par un dérivé iranien **gaunaka*.[2] Pour l'historien, le fait capital est la diffusion d'un produit originairement babylonien, par l'intermédiaire de l'Iran et sous un nom iranien, dans toutes les grandes civilisations du monde indo-européen.

[1] Sur ce groupe de termes, cf. Meillet, "Le vocabulaire slave et le vocabulaire indo-iranien," *Revue des études slaves*, vi, p. 165 et suiv.

[2] Dans une note parue ici (*JRAS*, 1920, 326–9), le Professeur S. Langdon assigne une origine assyrienne au mot *kaunakès*. Il pose un mot sumérien prononcé *gu-èn*, *gu-èn-na*, *gu-an-na*, et conclut: ". . . The Sumerian word *gú-èn* is always employed in the texts, never the Semitic *naḫlaptu* or *aṣit kišadi*, which were mere Semitic explanations. It is, therefore, almost certain that the Semites made a loan-word of *gú-èn*, or *gú-an-na*, and this should be *guennakku*, *guannakku*, the original of the Greek *καυνάκης*." L'existence d'une forme sémitique telle que **guannakku*, si elle est admise, n'est pas incompatible avec la thèse que je viens de soutenir. Que la forme iranienne **gaunaka* ait été calquée ou non sur un mot plus ancien, elle ne pouvait être sentie par les sujets parlants que comme un dérivé de *gaona* "poil", et cette dérivation donnait, en l'espèce, un sens pleinement satisfaisant. L'hypothèse du Professeur Langdon tend à prolonger dans le passé l'histoire du mot *kaunakès*; elle ne fait pas obstacle à l'explication que j'ai proposée pour une période plus récente. On trouvera encore d'utiles indications sur l'archéologie du vêtement sumérien dans un article du même auteur, *Archæologia*, lxx, 146–7.

An Old Moorish Lute Tutor

By HENRY GEORGE FARMER

MAGHRIBĪ or Moorish documents on the theory of music are extremely rare. We certainly have the Commentary on Aristotle's *De anima* by Ibn Rushd (d. 1198), but that deals with the question of the physical basis of sound, and not with practical theory. Probably the latter is treated in the *Kitāb al adwār al-mansūb* attributed to Ibn Sab'īn (d. 1269), but this is, unfortunately, locked away in a private library in the East.[1] We also have the treatise bearing the name of Al-Shalāḥī (*ca.* 1301) known as the *Kitāb al-imtā' wa'l-intifā'*, and the chapter on music in the *muqaddima* of the *Kitāb al-'ibar* of Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406), but they tell us very little. The former is mainly concerned with the question of the "lawfulness" of music, whilst the latter is too general in its treatment to be of much use, and tells us nothing about practical theory.

In view of this, one can make bold to say that the Maghribī manuscripts now brought forward for the first time ought to be welcomed. The most important of them is a treatise on the lute (*'ūd*) which I have called elsewhere,[2] for the sake of convenience, the *Ma'rifat al-naghamāt al-thamān* treatise, a title based on the opening lines of the manuscript. Although it was included by Lafuente y Alcantara in his *Catálogo de los Códices Arábigos adquiridos en Tetuan* (Madrid, 1862),[3] it did not excite attention until 1906, when Rafael Mitjana called the notice of musicologists to it in *La Monde orientale* (pp. 212–13), when he wrote as follows :—

"Ce manuscrit qui à ma connaissance n'a pas été encore étudié comme il le mérite, contient une reproduction dessinée du manche du *'ūd* [lute], où sont signalées les

[1] *Al-Hilāl*, xxviii, 214.
[2] *Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence*, 307–11.
[3] No. 220, 4.

diverses cordes, et sur elles, indiquée par des chiffres arabes, la place où on doit les effleurer pour obtenir le son voulu. Ce me semble être une espèce de *tablature* qui ressemble étrangement à celle employée par les grandes *vihuelistas* espagnols du quinzième siècle."[1]

I promised a translation of this manuscript in 1926,[2] and now a letter from the Dolmetsch family reminds me that I must fulfil this pledge and bring the document into the light of the English language, together with relative treatises, similarly unknown, which may also prove helpful in elucidating some doubtful points.

If only to probe the question of the Arabian influence on the *vihuelistas*, as Mitjana suggests, this particular treatise deserves editing and translating, although I also hope to show that a great deal more can be learned from its study, including the recognition of the twenty-four *naubāt* of the Moors of Spain, and the actual structure of the modes (*ṭubū'*, *ṣan'āt*) used at that period.

§ 1

MA'RIFAT AL-NAGHAMĀT AL-THAMĀN

This treatise is now in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid, and is described by F. Guillén Robles in his *Catálogo de los Manuscritos Árabes existentes en la Bibl. Nac. de Madrid* (Madrid, 1889), under the number: CCCXXXIV, 2, *Tratado sobre el laúd árabe*. It comprises four folios, quarto, fourteen lines to a page, written in a Maghribī hand in red and black ink, the copying having been carelessly performed. The MS. was acquired in Tetuan, and is undated. Neither Lafuente nor Robles gives its date, but from the paper it would seem to

[1] In his article on "La Musique en Espagne" in Lavignac's *Encyclopédie de la Musique*, tome iv, 1922, published in 1920, he says: "Seizième siècle" and adds: "Une semblable coïncidence ne résoud pas le problème, et il faudrait une étude plus complète et approfondie de cet intéressant document, avant de se hasarder à prononcer une conclusion."

[2] *The Influence of Music: From Arabic Sources*, 18.

have been copied in the second half of the sixteenth century, and was executed in Morocco. It is certainly not an original work, but a copy from an older treatise. How old the latter could be is not easy to determine. The absence of the names of the Perso-Turkish modes and notes may enable us to fix a date prior to 1504, when the Turkish corsairs first landed in the Barbary States. The theory dealt with in the treatise is based on a single octave *accordatura*, which is a very early system, as I have shown elsewhere.[1]

Translation

"The first to which attention is necessary is the knowledge of the eight notes (*naghamāt*), upon which the song (*ghinā'*) and the melodies (*alḥān*) all of them are centred, and the manner of taking-hold of them by way of arrangement from the four strings, as you should know that they are differing in the interval (*bu'd*). Then the nearest of them [the notes] is the note of the *bamm*, and it is the string named nowadays the *dīl*.[2] And next to it in the interval is the string of the *mathlath*, and it is the string of the *māya* without fingering (*dass*) with the *binṣir* (third finger) or the *sabbāba* (first finger) of the left hand. And next to it is another note by fingering with the *sabbāba*. Then there is next to it another note by fingering with the *binṣir*. Then [follows] the note of the *mathnā*,[3] and it is the *ramal*. Then [follows] the *zīr*, and it is the *ḥusain* without fingering. Then [follows] its note also, by fingering with the *sabbāba*. Then [follows] its note also, by fingering with the *binṣir*. Then with that the eight notes are complete.

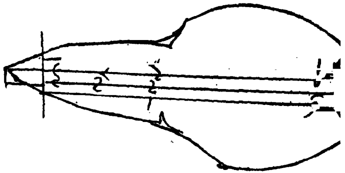
And the positions (*marātib*) of these notes will scarcely admit another note higher or lower (*literally*, 'distant or nearer'), but every note is derived from the whole of the

[1] See my *History of Arabian Music*, 70, and *Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence*, 241, 307–11.

[2] Also written *dhīl* and *dhail* elsewhere.

[3] The text has مثلى by mistake.

strings and the sounds [and they are being traced to these].[1] And they are expressed by means of the letters ا ب ج د[2] (A, B, J, D). So you make ا (A) the first note, which is the nearest of the notes, and the lowest[3] of them, and it is the note of the *dīl*. And ب (B), which is next to it in lowness, and it is a little higher than it, and a little lower than that which is above it, and it is the note of the *māya* without fingering. And the ج (J) is that which is next to it, and it is the note of the *māya* also, by fingering with the *sabbāba*. And the د (D) is that which is next to it, and it is the note of the *māya* also, by fingering with the *binṣir*. And the ه (H) is that which is next to it, and it is the note of the *ramal* [without fingering]. And the و (W) is that which is next to it, and it is the note of the *ḥusain* without fingering. And the ز (Z) is that which is next to it, and it is the note [of the *ḥusain*] also, by fingering with the *sabbāba*. And the ح (Ḥ) is that which is next to it, and it is the note [of the *ḥusain*] also, by fingering with the *binṣir*. And the figure of that, and its appearance are as you will now see, Please Allāh.



[1] A marginal addition.
[2] Read from left to right.
[3] The text has اخفاضها but read اخفضها.

Then the open string (*ḍarb*) and the fingering (*dass*) in the arrangement of the extracting of the notes are according to the places of the letters ا ب ج د (A, B, J, D) which are placed upon the string. Then the open string is where ا ب و ه (A, B, W, H) are, and the fingering with the *sabbāba* is where ز (Z) and ج (J) are, and with the *binṣir* where ح (Ḥ)[1] and د (D) are. And the arrangement of the notes[2] is according to the arrangement of the letters; it removes with them where they remove.

Then concerning the string upon which is one letter, in it is an indication that it is alone [with the open string][3] without fingering. And by that you know that as for the *dīl*, there is but one note in it, which is the lowest of the notes. And like it is the *ramal* in its being alone with one note. You play upon both of them [the *dīl* and the *ramal*], but there is no fingering. And in each [of the strings] of the *māya* and the *ḥusain* are three notes, one with the open string,[4] and two with fingering with the *sabbāba* and the *binṣir*. Then when you know the positions of these notes, and the playing of them has become ingrained in you, and your hand runs over them in the strings without hesitation, there becomes easy to you the taking-hold of what you wish from the string[s] by means of the eight letters, ا ب ج د [&c.] (A, B, J, D [&c.]).

And the custom runs in putting foremost the metre (*baḥr*) of the *ramal*[5] in learning on account of its primitive character (lit. 'the nearness of its source'), and its simplicity (lit.

[1] The text has ج (J).

[2] In the text, this phrase وترتيب النغمات, through a slip of the copyist, is repeated.

[3] A marginal addition.

[4] The text has an omission mark here, but there is nothing to correspond in the margin, and there does not appear to be a hiatus in the matter dealt with.

[5] The *ramal* poetic metre has no connection with the *ramal* musical mode.

'the fewness of its troubles'). And it is the metre which is composed from six seven-lettered feet (*ajzā'*), and they are *fā'ilātun* six times. Into the last foot of its first hemistich (*'arūḍ*) and the last foot of its second hemistich (*ḍarb*), there enters the deviation (*ziḥāf*), changing the seven-lettered feet, which is *fā'ilātun* [— ⏑ — —], into the five-lettered which is *fā'ilun* [— ⏑ —]. Fol. 15

And the discourse about that is simple in respect to what is aimed at. And the arrangement of it from the letters ا ب ج د (A, B, J, D), in the extracting of it from the strings, will be perfect of measure (*wazn*). And the notes are thus :—

ح ب ا ج د ج ب ا ج ج د ج ب ا ب ا ب ا ج د ج ب ا ج د ج ب ا
ه ا ا ب د (A B J D J A B J D J A B B A B J D J J A B J D J A B Ḥ D B A A H).

This is the first verse in its perfection.

And in the second verse there is some difference in the first and last, thus :—

ب ب ا ج د ج ب ا ج د ج ب ا ب ا ب ا ج د ج ب ا ه و ه (H W H A B J D J A B B A B J D J A B J D J A B B).

Then the last foot of its first hemistich (*'arūḍ*), and the last foot of its second hemistich (*ḍarb*) are agreeing in the production according to this operation. So take note.[1]

And in the learning of the taking-hold of the notes from the strings mentioned, and the learning of their places, and their conformability,[2] man becomes acquainted with the management (*taqwīm*) of the lute (*'ūd*), without needing a master in that nor a rule (*qā'ida*). Yet there is no harm in the mention of a rule in regard to that, by which he may obtain assistance in its management before knowing the places of the notes. And this is that you should grasp the *māya* first [because] it is upon a mean scale (*ṭabaqa*). Then you place

[1] قفس or نقس.
[2] ملايتها ?

your *sabbāba* (first finger) upon the place of the *binṣir* (third finger) in it [the *māya* string], and you place the *binṣir* where the position necessitates after that. Then it will be the interval of the *ramal*. Then correct it [the *binṣir* finger] according to it [the *ramal* note] until it agrees with it.[1] Then you place your *sabbāba* upon the *ḥusain* [string] in its proper place according to usage, and you place after it the *binṣir* in its place, then it will be the interval of the *dīl*, except that it is a *shaikh*, but correct it [the finger] upon it [the string] until the *shābb* of the *ḥusain* agrees with the *shaikh* of the *dīl*.[2] Fol. 18.

And you must put forward the management of the *dīl* upon a mean scale, and you place your *sabbāba* upon its place in it [the *dīl*], then it will be the interval of the *māya*. Then correct it [accordingly]. Then go over the rest of the performance as before.

Then between the *dīl* and the *māya* (is the interval of a tone (*ṭanī*), and between the *māya* and the *ramal*) is a fourth, and between the *ramal* and the *ḥusain* is the interval of a tone. Then the ratio of [the *dīl*] to the *ramal* is like the ratio of the *māya* to the *ḥusain*.[3]

[1] Meaning, shift the finger until it is in tune with the open *ramal* string.

[2] The note of the *dīl* (= C) is called the "old man" (*shaikh*) whilst its octave on the *ḥusain* string is named the "young man" (*shābb*). The old classical names for these were *sajāḥ* (*shuḥāj*) and *ṣiyyāḥ* respectively.

[3] The text has, owing to the marginal correction, got slightly mixed here. It reads as follows:

فبين الديل والماية (margin بعد طنى وبين الماية والرمل) والرمل والحسين
بعد بالاربع وبين الرمل والحسن بعد طنى فنسبته [الذيل] من الرمل كنسبه الماية
من الحسين

"Then between the *dīl* and the *māya* (is the interval of a tone, and between the *māya* and the *ramal*) and the *ramal* and the *ḥusain* the interval of a fourth, and between the *ramal* and the *ḥusain* the interval of a tone. Then the ratio of [the *dīl*] to the *ramal* is like the ratio of the *māya* to the *ḥusain*."

The words in brackets are from the margin, and clearly the words that follow الرمل والحسين are redundant. I have made the translation agree with my revision of the text. The word *ṭanī* is rather unusual. The general term is *ṭanīn*.

And as for the arrangement of the string according to its composition in position (*mauḍa'*) it has been indicated by four letters, and they are د ح م ر (D, Ḥ, M, R). Then the د (D) is for *dīl*, and it is the leading one. And the ح (Ḥ) is for *ḥusain*, and it is next to it. And the م (M) is for *māya*, and it is the third. And the ر (R) is for *ramal*, and it is the fourth of them.

And contemplating these letters so far as concerns the mode of their arrangement in position (*waḍ'*), first their number and every letter of them is taken from the first string mentioned. Fol. 16
. . . .[1] more desirable, and on his authority, may Allāh bless him, he said that all which turns upon the tongues of the different sorts of melodious sound (*talḥīn*), according to the difference of their kinds, and they all go back to the five principal modes (*uṣūl*) of the elements (*ṭubū'*) and what branch out from them. [And the branch modes (*furū'*)] are nineteen. They branch out from four principal modes (*uṣūl*), and they are, *dīl*, and *zaidān*, and *mazmūm*, and *māya*. And there does not branch out from the fifth [principal mode (*aṣl*)], which is *gharībat al-muḥarrar*, anything.

In the branching from the *dīl* are six branch modes, and they are, *ramal al-dīl*, and *'irāq al-'arab*, and *mujannab al-dīl*, and *rasd al-dīl*, and *istihlāl al-dīl*.[2] And those which branch out from the *zaidān* are six, and they are, *ḥijāz al-kabīr*, and *ḥijāz al-mashriqī*, and *'ushshāq*, and *ḥiṣār*, and *iṣbahān*, [and] *zaurankand*.[3] And those which branch out from the *māya* are four, and they are, *ramal al-māya*, and *inqilāb al-ramal*, and *ḥusain*, and *rasd*. And those which branch out from the

[1] There is a folio or folios missing here. This is a great loss, because an author is mentioned whose name would, to some extent, have assisted in fixing the date of the author of the MS.

[2] Only five out of the six are named, the missing one being, it would seem, *'irāq al-'ajam*.

[3] Cf. *zaukand* (Ibn al-Khaṭīb), *zīrāfkand* (Ṣafī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min), and *zīrakghand* (below).

mazmūm are three, and they are, *gharībat al-ḥusain*, and *maghriqī*, and *ḥamdān* . . .

And these four principal modes (*uṣūl*) are dependent on the four elements (*ṭubū'*),[1] the *fiery*, and the *watery*, and the *airy*, and the *earthy*. Then that which prevails upon the owner of the *fiery* is the *yellow bile*, and there moves him of the principal modes (*uṣūl*),[2] *mazmūm*, and its branch modes (*furū'*) are three, and *gharībat al-muḥarrar*, which is a principal mode without a branch mode. And that which prevails upon the owner of the *watery* is the *phlegm*, and the owner of it is moved by *zaidān*, and its branch modes are six. And that which prevails upon the owner of the *airy* is the *blood*, and the owner of it is moved by *māya*, and its branch modes are four. And that which prevails upon the owner of the *earthy* is the *black bile*, and the owner of it is moved by *dīl*, and its branch modes are six. Fol. 17.

And they have placed the principal modes of the elements[3] and their branching according to the picture of a tree, in which appears every principal mode and what branches out from it visibly. And the picture of that is as you will see, Please Allāh, Praised be him. Here is the figure."[4]

§ 2

[The Natures, Elements, and Modes]

By Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb al-Salmānī

This poem is contained in the same volume as the preceding treatise on the lute which I have entitled the *Ma'rifat al-naghamāt al-thamān*, and immediately follows it, being

[1] The text has *ṭabā'i'* ("natures"), but *ṭubū'* ("elements") is intended.

[2] The text has *ṭubū'* ("elements") but principal modes ('*uṣūl*) is intended.

[3] The text has مبوع in place of طبوع.

[4] The text contains no figure of this "tree". There is a "tree" with "branches" showing principal and branch modes according to the Eastern Arabian musical system to be found in a Bodleian Library MS. (Ouseley, 106). See my *Arabic Musical MSS. in the Bodleian Library*, p. 17.

catalogued by Robles as CCCXXXIV, 3—*Poesía sobre música*. It comprises two folios, and is written in red and green inks in a clear, bold, Maghribī hand, which is certainly different from the hand that penned the preceding treatise. The text is pointed, and there are marginal and other notes in different hands.

The name of Ibn al-Khaṭīb al-Salmānī has had a line lightly drawn through it, and an interlineal note added which reads, "Rather by the *shaikh*, the *faqīh*, Sīdī 'Abd al-Wāḥid [ibn Aḥmad] al-Wanshirīsī." The latter (d. 1549) was a noted *qāḍī* of Fez, "a majestic poet, and a linguist unrivalled by any of his generation" says Ibn 'Askar (d. 1578), but was better known for his religious verse inspired by, and his commentary on, the doctrines of Mālik ibn Anas. We know from Ibn 'Askar that Ibn al-Wanshirīsī was interested in music, and even wrote popular ballads,[1] but the above is a serious poem, and if we compare it with another poem of his, the *Naẓm al-qawā'id*, there does not appear to be much similarity in style. Further, one of the marginal notes calls attention to the fact that the author of the poem omits the customary pious exordium begging for Peace and the mention of the Prophet, a neglect which could scarcely be laid at the door of the *faqīh* Ibn al-Wanshirīsī, but which certainly could have been perpetrated by the Freethinker (*zindīq*) Ibn al-Khaṭīb al-Salmānī (d. 1374) the *wazīr* of the Naṣrids at Granada and the Marīnids at Fez. Finally, it is probable that the manuscript itself dates from the sixteenth century, and if the poem is the work of Ibn al-Wanshirīsī (d. 1549), there ought to have been little dubiety about his authorship in the century that he was living in. The manuscript came from Tetuan, a town that was founded by the refugee Granadans in 1492.

The poem has considerable interest not only on account of Ibn al-Khaṭīb, to whom it is ascribed, but because of the

[1] See T. H. Weir, *The Shaikhs of Morocco in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 149.

additional information that it contains about the musical modes of the Western Arabian system.

Translation

"Praise be to Allāh. Ascribed to the *imām*, the learned, Ibn al-Khaṭīb al-Salmānī.[1] The mercy of Allāh be upon him. May Allāh be gracious to him.

"The natures[2] of what are in the world of existence are four,
And like them are the different kinds of elements,[3] to the perspicuous.

Then the first of them is the *Black Bile*, and the *Earth* is its element;
And with coldness and dryness the Almighty has particularized it.

And the *Phlegm* [belongs to] the element of *Water*, moist and cold;
And the moisture of the heat of the *Air* belonging to the *Blood* follows.

The *Yellow Bile* [belongs to] the element of *Fire*. Its heat consumes
On account of what is in it of dryness through the design of the Exalted.

Then the note[4] of the sound[5] of the *Dhail*[6] and its branch modes
Are moved by the *Black Bile*. Take them cantilating.[7]

[1] As pointed out above, the name of this author has been crossed out and an interlineal note added which says: "Rather by the *shaikh*, the *faqīh*, Sīdī 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Wanshirīsī."

[2] *Ṭabā'i'*. These are the same as the "humours" (*akhlāq*) of Al-Kindī, Al-Mas'ūdī, and the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'.

[3] *Ṭubū'*.

[4] *Naghma*.

[5] *Ṣaut*.

[6] It is vocalized with *fatha* ذَيل but the other treatises, and present day pronunciation, have *dhīl* or *dīl*.

[7] *Murattil*.

[They are] *'Irāq* and *Ramal al-Dhail*. Then attend to its [the *Dhail's*] melody [1]
And *Rasd* belongs to it, so observe,[2] if you are a possessor of sublimity.

And to the *Phlegm* is *Zaidān*, and from it is its *Iṣbahān*.
Permitted also is *Ḥiṣār* [and] *Zaukand*, as is clear.

And *'Ushshāq* is derived from it. It is good in singing (*ghinā'*).
Then there are yet five branch modes connected.[3]

And *Māya* is a species [4] which is played for the people of *Blood*;
And *Rasd*, and *Ramal*, and *Ḥusain* [also], which is clear.

And the *Yellow Bile* belongs to the *Mazmūm*, so reckon its branch modes,
The *Gharīb al-Ḥusain* completing the elements.

And add to it an element from the *Gharīb al-Muḥarrar*;
And it is a principal mode without a branch mode, and there is no doubt that it is lost.

And add the element of *Istihlāl* and *Mashriqī* together,[5]
And the element of *'Irāq al-'Ajam* [belonging] to *Dhail*. It becomes manifest.

And do not forget in the company of the elements the *Mujannabā* [6]

[1] *Lahn*.

[2] فارصده. A play on the preceding word *rasd*.

[3] A marginal note gives a different line, which reads: "And its *'Ushshāq* take, it has gone up, and the singing has become light."

[4] جنس. Word of text doubtful.

[5] Here a marginal note has been added which runs: "Pray and beg for peace, in the beginning, for him [the Prophet Muḥammad] who was sent to created things." This was due to the author's neglect to include the customary pious invocations.

[6] A marginal note says: "And do not forget in its time the morning draught."

And *Ḥamdān* which belong to the *Mazmūm*. Do not let it wander.

Similarly the *Inqilāb al-Ramal* from the element of the *Māya*. It stirs up the affections of companionship and sublimity."

Finished. Praised be to Allāh."

§ 3

[The Modes]

This fragment is found on the bottom of the last folio of the preceding treatise. It has no author's name and consists of thirteen lines. It is of modern composition, certainly not earlier than the sixteenth century, and is of little value except that some new spellings occur, and some of the names of the modes of the East are introduced. By this time the term *ṭubū'* ("natures") had become attached to the modes themselves, a practice which survives to-day.

Translation

"And of the modes (*ṭubū'*), which seldom have attention paid to them in this country to-day, except that people publish verses about them, are—the *mazmūm*, *zaurankand*, *ḥiṣār*, *ḥamdān*, *zaidān*, and *mujannabā'l-ḏḫīl*. Then these are added to what has preceded of what are in use, and they are twenty-four. And the modes (*ṭubū'*) amount with other people to three hundred and sixty-six. Seven of them are measures (*awzān*) and they are the *marāsit*, *duka*, *sīka*, *jarka*, *banjka*, *ḥusain*, *'irāq*, and *kardāniyya* which is named *māhūr*. And of them are *abūsalīq*, *zīrakghand*, *ṣabā*, *muḥsinī*, *rakīb*, *bayātī*, *nīriz*, *shahnāz*, *rahāwī*, *auj al-sīka*, *auj al-'irāq*, *zankula*, and *'ushairān al-'ajam*, and many [other] modes too long to mention, for they are not fitting for an epitomized book. And in regard to them, enough has been mentioned. And Allāh is the helper towards the truth of the narration in knowledge, and he is our sufficiency, and good is the agent.

And there is no help nor strength but in Allāh, the Exalted, the Great. And may Allāh bless Our Lord Muḥammad and his Family."

§ 4

KITĀB AL-JUMŪ' FĪ 'ILM AL-MŪSĪQĪ WA'L-ṬUBŪ'

By 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī

This manuscript is in the Staatsbibliothek at Berlin, and is catalogued by Ahlwardt as No. 5521 (Lbg. 516, fols. 3–6). It was written in the year 1650, and it appears to be a versified reproduction by the above author of theories contained in an older treatise or treatises on music. It comprises four folios, and is written in a Maghribī hand, the earlier pages of which contain copious marginalia. It is by no means an easy manuscript to read and understand, although the author prides himself that his verses are " without equal ".

It is divided into twenty-three verse sections of varying length as follows :—

1.	Introduction.
2 to 4.	Rhythm (*īqā'*).
5.	Melody (*laḥn*).
6.	Pitch (*kammiyyāt*).
7 to 13.	Intervals (*ab'ād*).
14 & 15.	Genres (*ajnās*).
16 to 23.	Notes (*nagham*), Modes (*ṭubū'*), Natures (*ṭabā'i'*).

It is these last verses, as well as certain of the marginalia, that particularly concern us here, and a translation of them is appended.

Translation

16. THE NOTES AND THEIR NATURES

"The modes [1] are related to the elements.[2] You perceive
them on listening.

[1] *Ṭubū'*.
[2] *Ṭibā'*.

Then the *Dhīl* with its branch modes [correspond] to the *Black Bile.*

And *Māya* is the *Air.* It does not pass away.

Like that, *Mazmūm* is the nature of *Fire,* and its opposite *Zaidān* is flowing *Water.*

But *Gharībat al-Muḥarrar* is a principal mode without a branch mode in the disposition of him who perceives it.

17. The Branch Modes of Dhīl

Create *Marṣad al-Dhīl,* then *Ramal al-Dhīl,* each of the branch modes of *Dhīl.*

And thus its *Istihlāl* and *Mashriqī,* along with the two *'Irāqs.* Like that it is verified.

18. The Branch Modes of Māya

Raṣd and *Ḥusain* [and] *Ramal al-Māya.* Next *Inqilāb al-Ramal*; and it is the end.

19. The Branch Modes of Mazmūm

Mazmūm also. To it are two branch modes—*Gharībat al-Ḥusain* along with *Ḥamdān.*

20. The Branch Modes of Zaidān

Its branch modes are *Ḥijāz, Ḥijāzī,* along with *Hiṣār,* learned by experience (by the one who penetrates).

Similarly *Iṣbahān* [and] *'Ushshāq,* for thus the experts have arranged them.

21. On what are Not Related to One Another

The *Dhīl, Māya,* and *Mazmūm,* and similarly their fourth [*Zaidān*] which is well known.

In a part of them there is an interval which may be joined to some, except that it be high or low.

22. WHAT ARE RELATED TO ONE ANOTHER BY A SOFT [GENRE]

And they are *Ḥijāz* and *Inqilāb al-Ramal.* Similarly *Māya* and *Raṣd al-Dhīl.*

And [then] it is *Iṣbahān*, then *Ḥusain*, and so on. There is not in it a separation.

23. WHAT ARE RELATED TO ONE ANOTHER BY A MEDIUM

And that is like the two *Raṣds* and the two *'Irāqs*, and partly *Dhīl* and *'Ushshāq*."

MARGINALIA ON THE LUTE AND REBEC

The marginalia that have been referred to contain details of the *accordatura* of the lute (*'ūd*) and the rebec (*rabāb*) which have considerable interest. Whether these latter refer to contemporary practice is not easy to say. They may have been derived from Al-Fārābī (d. 950).

Translation

"Praise be to Allāh. The four strings of the lute are the *bamm*, *mathlath*, *mathnā*, and *zīr*. And these four strings come together at the nut (*anf*) of the lute, and it is the narrow place. And they [the strings] are wide apart at the bridge-tailpiece (*musht*). . . . And the custom is that they name the lowest of those [notes] in the octave the *sajāh*, and the highest the *ṣiyyāḥ*. And they sometimes mean by these two names the ends of what are in the 5th and 4th.

As for the *muṭlaq* (open string) of the *bamm*, its note is named the *thaqīlat al-mafrūdāt*. And its *sabbāba* (first finger note) is the *thaqīlat al-ra'īsāt*. And its *binṣir* (third finger note) is named the *wāsiṭat al-ra'īsāt*. And its *khinṣir* (fourth finger note), which is [identical with] the *muṭlaq* of the *mathlath*, is the *ḥāddat al-ra'īsāt*. And the *sabbāba* of the *mathlath* is the *thaqīlat al-awsāṭ*. And its *binṣir* is the *wāsiṭat al-awsāṭ*. And its *khinṣir*, which is [identical with] the *muṭlaq* of the *mathnā*, is the *ḥāddat al-awsāṭ*. And its *sabbāba*

is the *wusṭā*. And its *binṣir* is the *fāṣilat al-wusṭā*. And its *khinṣir*, which is [identical with] the *muṭlaq* of the *zīr*, is the *thaqīlat al-munfaṣilāt*.

And the *sabbāba* of the *zīr* is the *wāsiṭat al-munfaṣilāt*. And its *binṣir* is the *ḥāddat al-munfaṣilāt*. And its *khinṣir* is the *thaqīlat al-ḥāddāt*." [1]

The names given to the various notes in the above extract are derived from Greek theory, and are to be found in the Disjunct System which the Arabs called the *Jam' al-munfaṣila*. These names are to be found in Al-Fārābī (d. 950),[2] Al-Khwārizmī (tenth century),[3] Ibn Zaila (d. 1048),[4] Ṣafī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min (d. 1294),[5] and others. The finger nomenclature of these theorists is, however, different from that in the Maghribī treatise. The *wusṭā* finger not being used in the Maghrib, its place is taken by the *binṣir*. Here is a table of the Arabic names of the notes with the Greek equivalents.

Arabic Name.	[Greek Name.]	Finger Name.		[Note.]
Thaqīlat al-mafrūḍāt	προσλαμβανόμενος	*Bamm.*	Muṭlaq	A
Thaqīlat al-ra'īsāt	ὑπάτη ὑπατῶν	,,	Sabbāba	B
Wāsiṭat al-ra'īsāt	παρυπάτη ὑπατῶν	,,	Binṣir	C
Ḥāddat al-ra'īsāt	λιχανὸς ὑπατῶν	*Mathlath.*	Muṭlaq	D
Thaqīlat al-awsāṭ	ὑπάτη μέσων	,,	Sabbāba	E
Wāsiṭat al-awsāṭ	παρυπάτη μέσων	,,	Binṣir	F
Ḥāddat al-awsāṭ	λιχανὸς μέσων	*Mathnā.*	Muṭlaq	G
Wusṭā	μέση	,,	Sabbāba	a
Fāṣilat al-wusṭā	παράμεσος	,,	Binṣir	b
Thaqīlat al-munfaṣilāt	τρίτη διεζευγμένων	*Zīr.*	Muṭlaq	c
Wāsiṭat al-munfaṣilāt	παρανήτη διεζευγμένων	,,	Sabbāba	d
Ḥāddat al-munfaṣilāt	νήτη διεζευγμένων	,,	Binṣir	e
Thaqīlat al-ḥāddāt	τρίτη ὑπερβολαίων	,,	Khinṣir	f

The instrument described here is not the old single octave instrument as seen in the *Ma'rifat al-naghamāt al-thamān*

[1] The text has *thaqīlat al-munfaṣilāt*, which is an error.
[2] Kosegarten, *Lib. cant.*, 61–2.
[3] Van Vloten, *Liber mafātīh al-olum*, 244.
[4] Brit. Museum MS., Or. 2361, fol. 226.
[5] Carra de Vaux, *Le traité des rapports musicaux*, 48.

treatise tuned C.D.G.a., but the classical two octave lute tuned in fourths, A.D.G.c.

As for the marginal note on the rebec (*rabāb*), it runs as follows :—

"Praised be to Allāh. To the rebec are two strings, and one of them, and it is the soft (*raqīq*) one, is the *māya*, and the second is the *ramal*, and it is a low note (*shaikh*). And its octave (*shabāb*) is the *māya* fingered with the *binṣir* (third finger).[1] And when it is fingered with the *wusṭā* (second finger) it agrees with the fingering with the *binṣir* in the lute. And the open note (*fārigh*) is like the open note [in the lute]. And the *binṣir* in the *ramal* resembles the *dhīl* in the lute, both low (*shaikh*) and high (*shabāb*). And the *wusṭā* in it is like the *sabbāba* of the *ḥusain* in the lute. And the *sabbāba* in the *ramal* also is like the open string of the *ḥusain* in the lute."

From this we see that the two strings of the Maghribī rebec in the mid-seventeenth century were tuned a fifth apart (G–D : *Ramal-Māya*). They were tuned a fifth apart in the eighteenth century,[2] and it is the same to-day.[3]

[1] The correspondences refer to the Maghribī lute described in the *Ma'rifat al-naghamāt al-thamān* treatise.

[2] Höst, *Nachrichten von Marokos und Fes* (1781), Tab. xxxi.

[3] Salvador-Daniel, *La Musique arabe* (1879), 81. Lavignac, *Encyclopèdie de la musique*, v, 2924.

A Sumerian Hymn to Ishtar (Innini) and the Deified Ishme-Dagan

By S. LANGDON

ISHME-DAGAN, fourth king of the Isin dynasty, reigned twenty years (2237–18), but concerning the history of his reign little is known. He appears in all known references to him as " the god Ishme-Dagan ", in accordance with the prevalent custom of emperor-worship in the periods of the third dynasty of Ur and the succeeding dynasties of Isin and Ellasar. Although all the fifteen kings of Isin and the fourteen kings of Ellasar have Semitic names, and both dynasties are certainly Semitic, their religion was Sumerian; the deification and worship of kings are characteristic of Sumerian religion, and fundamentally opposed to Semitic religious conceptions.

This hymn from the Nippur collection in Constantinople, published by Professor Edward Chiera, *Sumerian Religious Texts*, Crozer Theological Seminary, *Babylonian Publications*, vol. i, No. 36, contains two sections, A, 1–44; B, 45–60. Section A describes the functions which the gods bestowed upon Ishtar; patroness of government and companion of the divine king, she appears specifically as the planet Venus as in the similar hymn to her and Idin-Dagan, father of Ishme-Dagan, JRAS. 1926, 15–42 = Chiera, *Crozer*, No. 1.[1] The hymn then takes up the praise of the " god Ishme-Dagan ". Innini and Ishme-Dagan are placed on the same level as divine beings (l. 40), and their functions are determined by Enlil and Ninlil; Innini is commanded to declare, " Ishme-Dagan thou art " for ever. This declaration in l. 44 seems to refer to the literal meaning of *dingir išme-ᵈ-Dagan me-en* " Thou

[1] Also edited by P. Maurus Witzel, *Keilinschriftliche Studien*, Heft 6 (1929), pp. 1–47. His reading *nu-'u-gig* = *ḳadištu* " hierodule " is undoubtedly correct.

art the divine one, Dagan has heard ". Ishme-Dagan is called the son of the god Dagan in PBS. v, 66 : v, 6–7 ; and x², 9, i, 19 (p. 143) ; but son of Enlil, PSBA. 1918, 54, 15 ; PBS. x, 181, 29 ; 184, 30 ; Genouillac, *Textes Cunéiformes*, xv, No. 22, 20 ; 18, 25.

Section B is a hymn to Ekur of Nippur, abode of Enlil, Ninlil, and Ninurta ; the shepherd (Ishme-Dagan) is the custodian of Ekur, he who was begotten by Enlil and Ninlil.

Concerning the history of the reign of Ishme-Dagan few texts are available.

(1) Stamped brick from Ur, CT. 21, 20 = Thureau-Dangin, VAB. i, 206, No. 5. Custodian of Nippur, defender of Ur, *uddagub* of Eridu, lord of Erech, king of Isin, king of Sumer and Accad, husband of Innini.

(2) Stone bowl dedicated to him, *lugal* ì-[si-in-(ki)-*na*], by Mudada ; from Ur. *Ur Excavations*, i, No. 101.

(3) Stone bowl dedicated by him to Nannar ; from Ur. Ibid., No. 102. Same titles as in (1).

(4) Diorite statue dedicated by his son Enannatum to Ningal ; from Ur. Ibid., No. 103. His son was *en* ᵈ·*Nannar*, high priest of Nannar in Ur. [An inscription from Ur mentions this same son of Ishme-Dagan and high priest of Nannar, CT. 21, 21, 90166 ; another inscription shows that he was a priest of the wife [1] of Nannar and also high priest of Nannar under Gungunu, king of the Ellasar dynasty, who was a contemporary of the two successors of Ishme-Dagan. VAB. i, 206, C 6.]

(5) Year dates taken from tablets excavated at Ur, *Ur Excavations*, Nos. 216–20, which contain no historical information.

It is remarkable that the liturgical hymns in the cult of this king are so prolific and extensive, and his historical remains so meagre. Genouillac, RA. 25, 142 (1928) has collected the references to all the published hymns and liturgies of the cult

[1] *zirru*, *zir alti* ᵈ·*Sin*, Langdon, SBP. 152, 13.

of Ishme-Dagan.[1] P. Maurus Witzel, *Keilinschriftliche Studien*, Heft 7 (1930), believes that he has been able to unite all of the Ishme-Dagan liturgies published by Chiera and myself into one great liturgy. In doing this he puts together those which have the *kišub* rubrics (PBS. x^4, No. 1 + Chiera, *Crozer*, 40 and 50; Zimmern, *Kultlieder*, 200), the *sasudda* rubrics (PBS. x^2, No. 14, Chiera, *Crozer*, No. 3; see now Genouillac, No. 18, and No. 22), and the great texts (PBS. x^2, No. 9, and x^4, No. 2), which have no rubrics at all. This is clearly impossible, although the four-column tablet with the first six *kišubs*, PBS. x^2, No. 1, may well be the beginning of a great liturgy of which Zimmern, KL. 4, No. 200, has the twelfth *kišub* on a two-column tablet.

Witzel, in editing these texts, says that he is the first to edit KL. No. 200. But this had been done in 1918, or twelve years before, by the writer, PSBA. 1918, 52–6, and by Ludwig Kinscherf, *Orientalistische Studien*, Fritz Hommel . . . gewidmet, 98–109 (1917), which appeared after my edition. Père Witzel writes with great confidence about his success in editing these difficult texts, and beyond doubt he has made some useful remarks.

He has also edited Chiera, *Crozer*, No. 36, pp. 44–9, with elaborate notes, pp. 101–11. It is not easy to be confident about the interpretations of these texts, and different views are permissible. But Witzel writes with such extreme confidence, and so derogatory of other scholars, that it is clearly obligatory to point out those lines which he demonstrably misunderstood. In editing texts of this kind no Sumerologist can claim finality but one thing he must prove, and that is a complete knowledge of all the Accadian grammatical help available. There is no other way to obtain finality, and it is also necessary to know the literature on the

[1] Genouillac does not note that Chiera, *Crozer*, No. 40, restores my PBS. x^2, No. 1, Col. I, 13–33, with three more fragmentary lines, end of the first *kišub*. I have not seen Genouillac's second volume of *Textes religieux sumériens*, containing AO. 9075, invocation to Ishme-Dagan.

texts; for every good scholar is likely to discover the correct interpretation of some lines if not all of them.

L. 2. *nig-nam-e di-di* or *sá-di* is rendered by him "deciding all fates". *nig-nam* never means "all fates", but only *mimma šum-šu*, "anything," nor does *di-di* ever mean *šâmu*, "to fix (fates)," or *dânu*, "to give judgment." His translation implies *ša kal šîmâti išîmu*, which cannot be the Accadian for the Sumerian text. He does not mention the variant parallel *sa-di*.

L. 6. *gab-ri-ni-šú nu-gub-bu* is rendered "wherein she has no rival". But "to have no rival" in Sumerian is *gab-ri-nu-tuk*, and the compound preposition *gabri . . . šú* occurs in CT. 3, 36, 70, *gab-ri é d-Ninmar(ki)-ka-šú*, "Before the temple of Ninmar," over against. No meaning for *nu-gub-bu* other than *ša la ikkalû* seems possible here. Cf. CT. 16, 3, 125; 16, 11, vi, 1 = *Journal of Victoria Institute*, 1893, p. 34, l. 16; ZA. 10, 197, 15–16, to cite only those passages where *DU* = *kalû* certainly has the value *gub*. *NI* is read *zal* and given the meaning "entirely attributed to", and *im-ma* taken for the verbal prefixes. But *zal* never has this meaning, and this hymn uses no finite verbs in ll. 1–14.

L. 8, the sign *UD* is corrected to *ub*. Zimmern, KL. 200, 5, has *ub-da-tab-tab-ba* in a wholly different passage, and *ud-da tab-tab-ba* makes perfectly good sense. The word is constantly used in medicine and was discussed by Ebeling, *Keilschrifttafeln medizinischen Inhalts, Archiv. für Geschichte der Medizin*, xiii, p. 5, and Thompson, RA., 26, 49, n. 4. Ebeling renders "heat of the crisis", Thompson "heat of the day". In no case can this be the sense here; for Venus is a morning and evening star. *ṣîti* = *udda* may have the usual sense, "rising", and *ḫimiṭ ṣîti*, "heat or warmth of the sun rise." K. 9123, 5–6 (RA. 17, 162) enters the word twice, but the Accadian is lost.

L. 9 is read *giš-giš-e-lal-e* and rendered "fighting", probably from *giš-giš-lal* = *tukuntu*, "battle." It is difficult to dis-

tinguish *giš* from *nigin* in these texts, and I do not oppose this reading.

L. 13. *ĕ-dé*, or *ĕ-ne*, is rendered "passed through", but *ed*, *ĕ*, has no such meaning. Rather *ed* = *kunnû*, RA. 12, 84, 55; 11, 152, 45.

L. 23. *nam-balag-la* is impossible, and from the parallelism (ll. 24–5) *nam-KI-EL-la* the most probable reading. Witzel reads *túg-zi-da túg-túg*, and takes *túg* for *tug*, *tuk* = *zamāru*; he supplies "Ishtar" in the translation after *nam-guruš-e*, a violent procedure. I do not understand these lines. *túg* = *zamāru* is possible. See OECT. vi, 3, n. 2.

Ll. 24–5. *e-ne-di* is rendered "support", and defended by the remark *e-ne-di* "they come to them". But the context shows that *enedi* is an infinitive; ll. 19–26 all contain infinitives, objects of the verb in l. 27. All these infinitives are rendered as finite verbs by Witzel.

L. 32. *galu nig-á-zi* means *ṣênu*, "wicked." Witzel states, p. 104, that he does not know this word. *galu nig-á-zi* = *ša* [*ṣi-e-*]*-nim*, PBS. v, 144, 13. *nig-á-zi* = *ṣênu*, CT. 19, 27, K. 2061, 15; *nig-á-zi-ga-ka*, Gudea, St. B 7, 56; *nig-á-zi*, "violence, wickedness"; CT. 4, 3 *a* 37; *nig-á-zi-šú nu-ag*, Thureau-Dangin, *Nouvelles Fouilles*, p. 214, Col. ii, 6; *nig-á-zig-ga*, PBS. x, 147, Rev. i, 2, translated also by Witzel himself, KS. 7, p. 60. Also RA. 9, 112, i, 13. None the less, the author translates "a man of good fortune", and *inim-gál* is said to mean "to commission", hence "a man of good fortune who was commissioned". *inim-gál*, or *dúg-gál*, always means "to make a complaint".

L. 36. *šú* cannot be used after the adverbial or participial ending *ám*.

L. 37. *ud* is unnoticed, in the transcription.

L. 45. Genouillac, RA. 25, 142, transcribed this almost correctly, 1928, or two years before.

L. 48. LI has value *en* here. See Poebel, ZA. 38, 82. Ninurta is read *Ninib* by Witzel, certainly to be abandoned.

L. 49. *túm-ma* is rendered "poured upon", but this is

impossible. The phrase clearly means *ša ana . . . šûluku*, "who was made fit for," a very common expression; Hrozný, *Ninrag*, 16, 18; Langdon, *Paradis*, 48, 33, et passim.

L. 57. *uru-ul*, not *uru-dú*, as explained by the syllabary. See my note.

Chiera, *Crozer*, i, 36.

1. [*d·Innini dumu-sal*]*d·Sin-na-ka*	1. Ishtar daughter of Sin,
2. *me-uku-*[*e*] *si-a nig-nam-e sá-di* [1]	2. Entrusted with the decrees of peoples, directing all things,
3. *an-na me-dîb-dîb-bi ki-a me-ŭr-ŭr-e*	3. Holding the decrees in heaven, on earth executing decrees,
4. *il-la-lu* [2] *sag-an-ni è-a*	4. *Bearer of exuberance* (?), rising above all,
5. *me-lám-a-ni izi-sud* [3]*-e il-la-gim gig-û-na bilgi*	5. Causing her splendour to shine as one that carries a torch during the night.
6. *an-na me gab-ri-ni-šú nu gub-bu e-ne-ra im-ma-ni*	6. In heaven decrees before her are unrestrained for her in her rising.[4]
7. *d·Innini-ra an bul-bul-e ki sĭg-sĭg-ge . . . gi*	7. For Ishtar heaven trembles, earth quakes, . . .
8. *ud-da tab-tab-ba šu-ni gál-li nam-egi gal-li ag*	8. Holding the morning light in her hand, grandly exercising queenly power,

[1] *nig-nam-e sa-di*, PBS. v, 66, vi, 11. For *si-di* = *mušteširu?* Or *sá-sá* = *mušaršidu? mušakšidu?*

[2] The same word on a Nippur text in Constantinople, *il-la-lu tūr-ra-ám a-rá mağ-am.* Witzel reads *il-la-dib*, "hoch schreitend."

[3] *ṭiparu*, BA. v, 708, 4; OECT. vi, 19, K. 5001, 2.

[4] The root *ed*, *en* = *aṣû*, has a variant *im*, *imma*, see JRAS. 1926, p. 25, note 11; *UD-DU-me-a*, *UD-DU-me-a-zu*, RA. 23, 42, No. 12, 4–5. *im-ma* = *ṣit šamši*, King, *Magic*, 9, 43.

9. *mé šen-šen-e ka-dŭ-e nigin-e lal-e*	9. Who like a slayer assembles and joins battle and conflict (?)
10. *nam-ur-sag-bi am-sun-gim dib-bi* [1] *á-dú-dú*	10. Her valour like a wild ox wrathfully *gores* (?).
11. *ùš erim-ma a-gim ki-e-nag-nag . . . bi gar-gar-e*	11. The blood of the wicked she causes the earth to drink like water, . . . their . . . [2]
12. *erim ? ma- ? -bi nam-ra ? mu ši . . . bi-bi*	12. . . .
13. *kalam ki-ta an-na-šú ĕ-ne kalam-kúr ki-šu-bal-e* [3]	13. The Land from below to above she cares for; the foe of the Land she overthrows.
14. . . . *KU-DŪ gig-gig ud* (?) *dib-dib-bi* [4]	14. . . . the darkness dispelling.
15. . . . *la-ge-bi kug* *d·Ininni-ra mu-na-an-sum-mu-uš*	15. . . . their to holy Ishtar they gave.
16. . . . *a gab-ri nu-mu-ni-in-tuk-uš*	16. . . . no rival did they cause her to have.
17. *é . . . amá ki-gà-gà* [5] *sag-e-eš mu-ni-PA + KAB-DU-eš*	17. To found the house . . ., the harem, they confided unto her as her gift.
18. *dam . . . sum-mu ur-bi dug-gi nam-ku mu-ni-in-tar-ri-eš* [6]	18. To give . . . , all together they kindly decreed a great fate for her; —

[1] The meaning of the last five signs is difficult. In CT. 11, 3 A 29, *TUM* has the value [*di-*]*ib*, restored from 46506, 5. Hence *dib-bi* = *aggiš*. *á-dú-dú* = *nakāpu ša ḳarni* ?

[2] Wholly uncertain.

[3] The verb *ki-bal* in the sense *šupēlu*, "to change," overthrow, occurs apparently in Langdon, *Paradis*, 252, 61. Cf. *me-ri-zu ki-da-ba-al-la*, Zimmern, *Kultlieder*, 3, Rev. I, 5 and 8.

[4] *tu-dib* = *rummû*, "to loosen," Br. 1096; *tu-tu-dib-bi* = *urtammu*, *Shurpu*, vii, 33, for which Ebeling, KAR. 371, 15, has *UD-dib-bi* = *irtammi*, i.e., *tū-dib-bi*. Perhaps same word here. A meaning *munammirat* is expected here.

[5] See Langdon, *Paradis*, 42, 3 = KAR. 4.

[6] Cf. Haupt, ASKT. 104, 7, and for *ku* = *rabû*, AJSL. 39, 171, n. 9.

19. *ní-tuk-na ki-tuš ki-gar-ra-na šag-zalag-ga gà-gà*	19. To create a clean heart in him that fears her, in the abode which he builds;
20. *ní-nu-tuk-na é-dū-a-na ģur-šág-gi nu-gà-gà*	20. Not to create a happy mind in him that fears her not, in the house which he makes;
21. *nitaģ-nunus-a nunus-nitaģ-a-bi tu-tu šu-bal šu-a-ag* [1]	21. Male and female, female and male *to cause to enter in turn*;
22. *kiskil-e-ne nam-guruš-e túg-zi-da mûd-mûd* [2]	22. Maidens like men manliness to . . .;
23. *gurus-e-ne nam-kiskil-la-e-šú túg ģub-bu* [3] *mûd-mûd*	23. Men like maidens to . . .;
24. *eme-nitag-ga sal-e e-ne-di*	24. To cause women to sing in male voice,
25. *eme-sal-e nitag-ga e-ne-di*	25. To cause men to sing in female voice; [4]
26. *nig-galam-ma gar-gar-gà kúr-ra-dúg-gi ib-[gí ?]*	26. To institute skilful things, to *turn away* wickedness;
27. *d.En-lil d.Nin-lil-bi d.Innini-ra šu-ni-šú mu-un-gar-[gar]*	27. Enlil and Ninlil confided to the hand of Ishtar.[5]

[1] Cf. *bal* = *šupilu ša zinništi*, CT. 19, 42, 17.

[2] For *KU*, REC. 468 = *mu-ud*, v. PBS. v, 102, iii, 6. The only combination possible seems to be *túg-mud-mud* = *ṣubata labāšu*. Cf. RA. 17, 61, 14, *túg láģ-láģ mûd-mûd-(aš)*, *ṣubata ibba iltabaš*; see also CT. 16, 11 A 51; *mašak amēli mûd-mûd-(aš)*, Virolleaud, *Astrol. Sin.*, 17, 36. But what is the meaning here?

[3] The sign is REC. 302, but here apparently for *ģub* = *šumēlu*, REC. 116; for it is contrasted with *zid-da* = *imnu*, l. 22. Cf. the Ishme-Dagan hymns, PSBA. 1918, 56, 35; PBS. x, 180, 15.

[4] *E-NE-DI melultu*, Sm. 526, 22 and 24, in *ki E-NE-DI-ta* = *ašar melulti*, "place of song." S. A. Smith, *Miscellaneous Texts*, 24. For which var. Radau, *Miscel.*, 15 ii 1 has *KU-HUL-SIR*, i.e. *ešemen*, CT. 19, 31 A 19. For *E-NE-DI* (*ešemin*), see CT. 11, 50, 7. Also a reading *e-ne-di* proved by *e-ne-dúg* = *rášu*, etc., Delitzsch, *Glossar*, 174, after an Assur text.

[5] Cf. Chiera, *Crozer*, No. 1, Col. i, 24.

28. *é-gal é-nam-nin-[ka-ni] nu-gig-an-na-ra*	28. A "great house", house of her ladyship, for the heavenly harlot,
29. *mu-na-an-ni-ib-[si(g)-eš su-] zi im-da-ri-eš*	29. they founded, in *dazzling splendour* they clothed it.
30. *é* (?) *lugal kur-kur-ra sag-gig-ga in- . . . eš ní me-lám be-šig* (?)	30. The *temple* of the lord of the lands the dark headed people . . . with fear of splendour *filled*.
31. *sag-gig šu-ri-ri-e-dé dúg-bi šu-ma* . . .	31. To cause the dark-headed people to dwell,[1] their command they . . .
32. *silim uku-šár-ra*[2] *e-di-e-dé zi-ud me* . . .	32. To bless the hosts of the people, days of life . . .
33. *galu nig-á-zi-ka dúg-mi-ni-in-gál-la ù* ? *gar-[ra-dé]*	33. To turn aside the violent ones, who speak words (untruthful),
34. *kili-ba-bi kug* *d.Innini-ra šu-ni-im-mi-in-si-[si-eš]*	34. All these to holy Ishtar they entrusted.
35. *d.Iš-me-d.Da-gan sag-uš muš-nu-túm*[3]*-mu mu-á é sú* ? *sum* ?	35. Ishme-Dagan, the faithful, the tireless, with . . . endowed,
36. *d.En-lil d.Nin-lil-bi nu-pad-dam*[4] *túg-mu-na-an-sum-mu-uš*	36. Enlil and Ninlil with unknown *might* have clothed (?)
37. *é dingir-ri-e-ne dū-dū-ù-dé šukum-ud-bi šub-šub-bu-dé*[5]	37. To build the temples of the gods, to apportion unto them their daily food,

[1] Same sense in CT. 36, 28, 23 = JRAS. 1925, 489. *kalam-ma . . . šu-ge-im-ri-ri-e* "May he establish the Land", cause it to occupy as an abode (*šurmû*).

[2] Cf. *Haupt Anniversary Volume*, 176, 20; JRAS. 1925, 488, l. 9.

[3] Var. of Br. 3035. See JRAS. 1929, 372. At end *mu-da-eri sud* ?

[4] *nu-pad*, "unseen, unfound," not hitherto known. The sign after *dam* is *túg* not *šú*. Moreover the instrumental or adverbial ending *am* (*nu pad-am* = *nu paddam*) cannot be construed with post-fixed *sú*, as Witzel reads.

[5] See JRAS. 1929, 368, and PBS. x, 248, 6.

38. *gi-gùn-na-bi šen ?-šen ?-e-dé bara-bi kug-gi-dé*	38. To *adorn* their "dark chambers", to beautify their sanctuaries,
39. *unù-ba tin làl kaš kaš-tin-bi ud-šù-uš gi-ni-dé*	39. To maintain their tables daily with beer, honey, ale, and wine,
40. *d-Innini d-Iš-me-d-Da-gan-bi*	40. To Innini and Ishme-Dagan
41. *d-En-lil d-Nin-lil-bi sag-e-eš mu-ne-in-PA + KAB-DU-eš*	41. Enlil and Ninlil conferred the warrant as (their) gift.
42. *Nibru-(ki) maǧ en-nin ba-dim an-na* [1] *me-nu-lu* [2]	42. In Nippur, the far-famed Innini, heavenly builder, *Menulu*;
43. *šag-ba-a kiskil d-Innini-ra me mu-na-ni-in-sum-mu-uš*	43. therein to the maiden Innini they granted the decrees.
44. *d-Iš-me-d-Da-gan me-en da-eri-šu inim-inim-mu-ni-gar*	44. "Thou art Ishme-Dagan," for ever declare.[3]

[1] Cf. *Babyloniaca*, ii, 244, 33, *be-de-ma an-na*. Cf. Hilprecht, OBI. 2, 9.

[2] Cf. titles of Ishtar, *me-nu-a-ni*, CT. 25, 44, Sm. 1558, 9 = 17 ii 16, *me-a-ni ! me-nu-a-zu, me-nu-a-ru, me-nu-am-nu-u me-nu-i-li*, ibid., 17–18, 26–7. These are, however, clearly Semitic names. *me-nu-a-ni* = *me-nu-an-nim*, CT. 24, 41, 80. "Fate of yes," Ishtar as goddess of fate. See *mi-nu-ú-an-ni, mi-nu-ú-ul-la*, "Fate of yes," "Fate of no," JRAS. 1930, 26, n. 1. *me-nu-amnû*, "I have decreed fate," verbal phrase inflected as a noun. For *me-nu-a-zu*, the Var. Sm. 1558, 10, has *me-nu-a-du*, which gives the impression that the scribe wished to use *idû*, "to know," for *zu ! me-nu-a-ru* = *šāriḳat meni* ? Cf. *me-nu-ģen*, RA. 16, 75, No. 14, l. 9. [In my discussion of *manîtu*, "fate," JRAS. 1930, 25, it was expressly stated that *ṭâbu* is construed with *šâru*, masculine, and not with *manîtu*. Meissner, AOF. vi, 108, does not state my argument correctly, and injustly charges me with construing *ṭâbu* with *manîtu*. I think he did not intend to do this, but it is, as it stands, a serious misrepresentation. Moreover, the syllabary cited by him which gives *manîtu* = *šâru* in no way proves his argument, for "wind" came to mean "omen", by its function in divination. Meissner, however, himself states, MAOG. i, 2, p. 39, "*manîtu* ist übrigens kein Feminin, sondern Masculin." What then does he mean in AOF. vi, 108 ?] See *Addenda*.

[3] A similar meaning for *inim-gar* in Langdon, OECT. i, 56, 28.

45. *éš Nibru(ki) éš-zu éš a-ab-si-a é-kur zagin-ám*	45. O abode of Nippur thy abode is an abode full of . . ., Ekur the beautiful.
46. *nun-zu nun a-ab-si-a kur-gal a-a ᵈ·En-lil*	46. Thy prince is a prince full of . . ., the great mountain, father Enlil.
47. *nin-gal*[1]*-zu nunus-zi(d) ama ᵈ·Nin-lil nam-egir-e dib-ba-ám*	47. Thy *queen*, the faithful woman, is mother Ninlil, who has "taken hold" of queenly power.
48. *sag-ên-tar-zu nam-šul-la si-a ur-sag ᵈ·Nin-urta*	48. Thy minister is the valiant Ninurta, he that is full of valour,
49. *sukkal-maḫ zabar-zi-za túm-ma á-zi-nad-zu dug-dug*	49. Thy far-famed messenger, worthy of thy glory (?), making glad thy bridal couch,[2]
50. *sag-sir*[3] *me-zi-za en-nu-kar-kar-dam*	50. Director of thy faithful decrees, keeping watch over them.[4]

[1] *nin-gal = šarratu*, "queen," is the only possibility if the text is right. Aruru is called *nin-gal ᵈ·Mullil-lá*, JSOR. iii, 15, Rev. 16.

[2] *á-ki-nad*, probably identical with *á-nad*, Gud. Cyl. B, 5, 12; JSOR. iii, 15, 18; the *é-nun-kug* of Ningal is called the *á-nad-da* of Sin, *Ur Excavations*, 111, 35. *dug* is taken for *ṭâbu*. Also *šar = naḫâšu*, possible. He that makes luxurious. Perhaps also *dug = riḫû* "Begotten on thy bridal couch".

[3] See PBS. x, 260, n. 3.

[4] Some similar meaning must be assigned to this new phrase. From *kar-kar = mutirru*, iv, R. 40, i, 9, and *ennun-mal-ni in-na-an-gur = maṣarta-šu uterri*, "He restored what was in his keeping," II Raw. 9, 2–4, a sense "to restore the safety of", may be possible. If so, the passage may refer to Ninurta as the avenger of his father Enlil in the old Sumerian myth of creation. Marduk is the *mutir salime ša ilâni rabûti*, "Restorer of the peace of the great gods," iv, R. 40, i, 9, obviously referring to the Epic of Creation. On Ninurta the *mutirru* of Enlil, see also CT. 36, 29, Rev. 14, in JRAS. 1925, 493, and Ebeling, KAR. 307, Rev. 22, Ninurta *ša gimilli abi-šu utirru*. Hence perhaps here Ninurta "who restored the safety of thy faithful decrees", restored the authority of Enlil after his battle with the dragons.

51. *sipa me-zi-za en-nu-kar-kar-bi-im*	51. The shepherd, is the guardian (?) of thy faithful decrees,
52. *ú-a-zu a-ru-a* [1] *kur-gal ù-tu-da d·Nin-lil-lá*	52. Thy custodian, begotten by the great Mountain, born of Ninlil, (that is)
53. *d·Iš-me-d·Da-gan a-ru-a kur-gal ù-tu-da d·Nin-lil-lá*	53. Ishme-Dagan, begotten by the great Mountain, born of Ninlil,
54. *kalam-šár-šár-ra* [2]*-ba-na mu-maḫ-gĭr* [3]*-za kug-ga-ám*	54. He who has made wide the Land; glorious is thy far-famed and mighty name.
55. *Nibru (ki) zag-sal-zu šá-dúg-gi* [4] *dú-ám KA-BIL* [5] *ǵe-en-gál*	55. In Nippur to praise thee in season is fitting; daily (?) may it be.
56. *dúg-ga-zi-zu ad dingir-dingir A-nun-na* [6] *ǵe-im-ma-làg-làg-gi-eš*	56. Thy sure commands the Anunnaki have established . . .
57. *éš Nibru(ki) uru-ul* [7] *me ǵal-ǵa* [8] *zag-sal-zu dúg-ga-ám*	57. O abode of Nippur, the eternal city of decrees and mysteries (?) it is good to sing thy praise.
58. *ezen-gal-gal mí-dúg-ga Nibru(ki)*	58. The well-ordered great festivals of Nippur,

[1] Cf. *a-ri-a-bi an-na-ge tu-ud-da-meš = ina riḫût d·Anim ibbanû šunu*, CT. 16, 15, v, 1. Also *d·a-rù-ù-a = d·e-ru-ú-a*, v Raw. 62, No. 2 A 7 = B 8. The augmented forms *aria*, *arua*, are from the root *ru = banû*.

[2] *šuddulu*.

[3] *gĭr = gašru* is usually employed with persons, gods, but *á-kalag gĭr-ra*, year date 23 of Samsuiluna, and RA. 9, 122, i, 2.

[4] The only known meanings of *šadugga* are *amšala*, "yesterday," and *adannu*, "fixed time."

[5] *gig KA-BIL*, Reisner, 102, 42, seems to mean "night and day".

[6] *A-nun-na* preceded by double *AN*, also *Ur Excavations*, 293, 2; 294, 2.

[7] *âl ṣiatim*, Poebel, PBS. v, 101, i, 5.

[8] *ǵal-ga — pirištu*, Ebeling, KAR. 50, 9. Read *buluǵ-ǵa, bulug-ga*? Cf. *buluǵ-ǵa-dam*, Thureau-Dangin, RTC. 58, Rev. ii, 2; Allotte de la Fuÿe, DP. 222, Rev. iv, 2.

59. *nam-maḫ ᵈ·En-lil ᵈ·Nin-lil-lá*	59. the fame of Enlil and Ninlil,
60. *silim dingir-gal-gal-e-ne . . . -la-e-éš-ám*	60. the satisfaction of the great gods . . . are.
61. *sa* [1]*-sûd-da-ám*	61. It is a long (?) song.

ADDENDA

Meissner, AOF. vi, 108, is certain that *manîtu*, *minîtu* "fate" must be wrong. In addition to my note on line 42, which invalidates his argument, Sm. 28, Rev. I 25–28 (unpublished), has *nam-erim* = *ma-nu*, twice. *Namerim* is the ordinary Sumerian word for *mamîtu*, fate, *šiptu*, curse. Hence *manu* means "fate", and so does the feminine abstract *manîtu*.

Ni. 4563 = PBS. x², No. 9, does join Ni. 11005, as Witzel, KS. 7, p. 3, conjectured. Professor Legrain has confirmed this join in the University Museum, Philadelphia.

[1] Text *giš*, error for *sa*? *BU* has the value *su*, *sud*, as is proved by the variant writing *sa-SUD-da-ám*, PBS. x, 182, 31; AJSL. 39, 176, 31 et p. The full form is *sa-bar-sud-da-ám*, PSBA. 1918, 71, 29. *sa* = *pidnu* "choral music"; *sa-bar* = *zamâru* "song", in *ši-ù-dé sa-bar* = *ebir zamâram*, "chant a song," Myhrman, PBS. i, No. 11, 78, and for *ebêru*, "shout, chant," see *Voc. Scheil*, 145–6, *SIM* (*a-si-il-la*) = *rîšatum*, *e-be-rum*, *ḳûlu*, and Scheil's note, p. 25. [For reading *a-si-il-la*, see Thureau-Dangin's copy, *Uruk*, pl. lxxi, B, 34, and *asilal*, Delitzsch, *Glossar*, 16.] For *GID*, "value", *su*, cf. *im-GID-*[*dé*]*-en*, Langdon, *Sum. Bab. Psalms*, 200, 16, with var. Zimmern, *Kultlieder*, No. 2, Rev. l. 37, *be-ib-su-de*; *GID-ág* = *sú-ud-ág*, Scheil, RA. 18, 52, 19. But *sabarsudda*, *sasudda*, never occur at the end of a hymn as here; PSBA. 1918, 71, 29; 77, 34; BE. 29, 1, i, 27; ii, 31; iii, 22; iv, 10; PBS. x, 182, 31; AJSL. 39, 176, 31. It is probable, therefore, that the scribe meant to write *sir-gid-da* (better *sir-sûd-da*), which always occurs (as a rubric) at the end, *sir-sûd-da ᵈ·Ninsianna-kam*, Chiera, *Crozer*, i, Nos. 6, 7; *sir-sûd-da ᵈ·Amurru-kam*, No. 8; *sir-sûd-da ᵈ·Ninurta*, Genouillac, *Textes Cunéiformes*, xv, No. 7. But never *sir-sûd-da-ám*, and always followed by the name of a deity.

Notes on the Nyāya-praveśa by Śaṅkarasvāmin

By GIUSEPPE TUCCI

I

The Commentary by K'uei-chi on the Nyāya-praveśa

THE Nyāya-praveśa by Śaṅkarasvāmin, recently printed in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series of Baroda, is a text of great interest for the study of Indian logic; in fact, in spite of its conciseness it contains an extremely clear exposition of the Buddhist logic as it was taught in India, at least among some particular schools, as those of the Yogācāras and the Sautrāntikas [1] in that lapse of time which separates Diṅnāga from Dharmakīrti. That the book was written after Diṅnāga, but before Dharmakīrti, is proved by its peculiarities, which in many a point differentiate the theories held by the author from those maintained by the other two great logicians already quoted.[2]

The fact that the fallacies of the proposition *pakṣa-ābhāsas* are here nine, and not five as in the *Nyāya-mukha* or in the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya*, and that no mention of the *jātis*, mere appearance of refutation, can be found under the item of the *dūṣana-ābhāsas*, erroneous refutations, betrays *mata-bheda* in connection with the system of Diṅnāga,[3] while, on the other hand, there is in the book no trace of the criticism raised

[1] The relation between the two schools is very close, and this explains why Buddhist doctors belonging to these sects are called by either name. The school which claims to have been founded by Asaṅga and after him by Vasubandhu, has very strict similarities in its dogmatics with the doctrine of the Sautrāntikas. Books like the *Yogacaryābhūmi-śāstra*, the *Mahāyāna-samparigraha-śāstra*, etc., follow very often the ancient scheme of the Sautrāntikas. On the other hand works like the *Laṅkāvatāra* and the *Śraddhotpāda-śāstra* belong to a quite different tendency in which the *vijñāna* is elaborated according to mystic lines. I hope to publish very soon a note establishing these facts.

[2] See my article "Bhāmaha and Diṅnāga", *Indian Antiquary*, 1930, p. 142.

[3] See my translation of the *Nyāyamukha*, Heidelberg, 1930. I must add that Uddyotakara also, refuting Diṅnāga, knows only five *pakṣābhāsas*: *Nyāya-vārttika* (ed. by Lakṣmaṇa-śāstrī, Benares, 1915), p. 113.

by Dharmakīrti against some particular points of *Diṅnāga's*[1] doctrine. But if the *NP*. was not written by Diṅnāga, as has been wrongly assumed, it is quite certain that it expounds theories that must have had, at least for some time, a wide circulation. This is proved by the fact that Yuang Chuang translated it into Chinese, while another great Chinese scholar, to whom we owe some fundamental works of exegesis upon the most important *śāstras* of the Mahāyāna, viz. K'uei-chi (632–82), commented on it. Moreover, we have some evidence that the theories expounded in the *NP*. were accepted even by the non-Buddhist philosophical schools. If we take, for instance, the *Māṭhara-vṛtti*, we see that in the commentary on *kārikā* 5 the list of the *ābhāsas* corresponds to that given in the *Nyāya-praveśa* (nine *pakṣa-ābhāsas*, fourteen *hetv-ābhāsas*, ten *dṛṣṭānta-ābhāsas*), which is strictly peculiar to this book, while it does not occur either in Diṅnāga or in Dharmakīrti. This is a rather important argument in settling the question of the age of the *Māṭhara-vṛtti*, which is certainly quite different from the original book attributed to Māṭhara himself.

K'uei-chi was a disciple of Yuan Chuang, and he acquired from his master his wide knowledge of the Indian Philosophy. But as Yuan Chuang himself spent many years in India, taking part in many philosophical discussions, and had therefore a direct knowledge of the traditional exegesis of the *śāstras* as was current in the Indian monasteries, it is quite evident that it will be of interest to have an idea of the exact content of the commentary written by K'uei-chi on the *Nyāya-praveśa* and called in Chinese 因明入正理論疏 or simply 因明大疏. Some portions of it, it is true, have been translated or rather used by Sugiura in his study: *Hindu logic as preserved in China and Japan*. But, as I have already had the opportunity to point out elsewhere, this book

[1] The chief points in which Dharmakīrti differs from Diṅnāga are the two fallacies, "*iṣṭa-vighāta-kṛt*" and "*viruddhāvyabhicārin*" and the theory of the example.

cannot be fully relied upon, as the author was very imperfectly acquainted with the Indian logic in general, while it is quite evident that, without a very sound knowledge of the traditional Nyāya it is almost impossible to understand the difficult discussion of K'uei-chi.

The following notes are not a translation. Wherever the text of the *Nyāya-praveśa* is easily intelligible, or when the commentary by the Chinese logician does not seem to add very much to our knowledge of the subject, I do not even refer to K'uei-chi's notes. On the other hand, when his discussions seemed to me of some importance, I gave an, I hope, intelligible summary of them, trying to reproduce, in the clearest way, the ideas expounded by the Chinese author.

Tatra pakṣādivacanāni sādhanam

It is known that according to Diṅnāga the *sādhana* is in fact represented only by the *trairūpya* (threefold characteristic) of the *hetu* "reason", and the *sādharmya* and the *vaidharmya* of the example. After Vasubandhu (天 親) the *pakṣa* "proposition" is only *sādhyābhidhāna*, that is to say, the expression of the conclusion, but it is not the *sādhana*. In this way Vasubandhu and Diṅnāga held an opinion different from that maintained by the ancient masters, viz. the Yogācāras, who believed that the *pakṣa* or the *pratijñā* is a member of the syllogism. Now the question may be asked, why did Saṅkarasvāmin say that the *pakṣa* and the other members are the *sādhana*? Two replies are possible: (*a*) he meant to insist on the fact that the *pakṣa* (in its totality) is the *sādhya*—that which is to be proved—and that the *hetu* and the *dṛṣṭānta* are the *sādhanas* "proof" of the *sādhya*. This he did in order to avoid the danger of being suspected of being a follower of the ancient masters, who maintained about the *sādhya* a particular theory which we are going to explain; (*b*) according to the ancient masters the proposition to be proved is in fact double, as the *sādhya*, is represented by the subject (自 性) as well as by the predicate (差 別). But for Diṅnāga the subject and the predicate are only the

basis, as it were, (依 *āśraya*) of the *pakṣa* "proposition", and, being separately no object of discussion, cannot be taken as *sādhya*. This, therefore, is represented by the *pakṣa* in its entirety.

Let us take, for instance, the example: "sound is non-eternal."

According to the ancient logicians the *sādhya* is twofold: we have to prove not only the subject "sound", but also the predicate "non-eternal", and the entire proposition is considered as the first member of the *sādhana*. For Diṅnāga there is only one *sādhya* and this is represented by the entire *pakṣa*: "sound is non-eternal."

Ancient masters:	*sādhya* is	subject; predicate
	sādhana is	*pakṣa*; *hetu*; *dṛṣṭānta*
Diṅnāga:	*Sādhya* is	*pakṣa*
	Sādhana is	*hetu*; *dṛṣṭānta*

Prasiddho dharmī prasiddhaviśeṣeṇa

In order to explain what is *dharmin* and what is *viśeṣa* K'uei-chi begins by saying that every notion (*dharma* 法) can be considered under two different aspects: essence 體 *bhava*, and attribute 義 *artha*. If we take, for instance, the five *skandhas*, *rūpa*, etc., represent the *bhava*, while the condition of being infected or not (*sāśrava*, *anāśrava*), which may be predicated of them, is the *artha*. In logic (因 明 *hetu-vidyā*) *bhava* and *artha* have respectively three names:

bhava	a. *svabhāva*	自 性
	b. *dharmin*	有 法
	c. *viśeṣya*	所 别
artha	a. *viśeṣaṇa*	差 别
	b. *dharma*	法
	c. *viśeṣa*	能 别

Svabhāva is that *quid* which is not common to other *dharmas*, while the *viśeṣaṇa* is common to others. The *svabhāva* corresponds to the *svalakṣaṇa*, and it is realized by an immediate perception, like that which characterizes the *ārya-jñāna*. All that is beyond this immediate perception is mere *parikalpita* (假); that nature or aspect which is expressed by words is in fact *parikalpita*, but it is not the real essence of the *dharmas*. All this from the ontological point of view (of the Yogācāras). According to logic three explanations are possible: *svabhāva* is (*a*) the mere fact of existence, it has a narrow extension; the *viśeṣaṇa* permeates other notions and has a wider extension; (*b*) the relation between *svabhāva* and *viśeṣaṇa* is a relation of before and after; that which is stated first is the *svabhāva*, as there is not yet previously a *dharmin* to be specified. The *viśeṣaṇa* comes afterwards, as there must be a *dharmin* to be specified; (*c*) a relation between the subject (所 陳) and the predicate which we suppose can be applied to it. Thus *svabhāva* (= *bhava* (*a*)) and *viśeṣaṇa* (= *artha* (*a*)) have been explained.

Now we must pass to *dharmin* (*bhava* (*b*)) and *dharma* (*artha* (*b*)). The *svabhāva*, expressing the notion in itself is neither right nor wrong until it is specified; the specifying element is the *dharma*, and therefore, as the subject can receive it, it is called *dharmin*; but the *dharma* itself cannot be called a *dharma* until it specifies something; we can speak of "wrong" and "right" so far as the attribution of the *dharma* to the *dharmin* is concerned.

Let us consider the third aspect of *bhava* and *artha*, that is to say, of *viśeṣya* and *viśeṣa* respectively. A discussion does not depend on the subject alone, but on that attribute which is predicated of it, since this attribute specifies the subject and not vice versa; therefore the *svabhāva*, or subject, is the *viśeṣya* and the predicate the *viśeṣa*.

Now three objections are possible:—

(*a*) That the *bhava* is the *svabhāva* and the *artha* is the *viśeṣaṇa* is contradicted by the *pratijñā* of the Sāṅkhyas: "the

ātman is intelligence (思)," quoted down below in the *NP.*, because expressions like "it is the *ātman*" or "it is not the *ātman*" specify the intelligence and not vice versa. The reply is that according to Diṅnāga's logic the subject of a syllogism is considered in itself without relation to other things, while the predicate expresses some quality common to others (the predicate "non-eternal" is applicable not only to sound but also to its *sādharmya dṛṣṭānta* "the pot"). The second *dharma* specifies the first, and therefore the subject of a proposition is called the *svabhāva* and the predicate is called the *viśeṣaṇa*.

(*b*) The *dharmin* is what it is, *ekārtha* (一 義), while the *dharma* is applicable to many, *anekārtha* (二 義); then, in the *pratijñā* of the Sāṅkhyas already referred to, how could the intelligence be the *dharma*, since it is the *ekārtha*, and how could the *ātman*, being *anekārtha*, be the *dharmin*? The reply is that the *dharmin* is not in itself the object of the discussion between the *vādin* and the *prativādin*, but, since the discussion concerns the various *dharmas* which are applicable to it, that which is the object of discussion is the *dharma*. Therefore the subject is the *dharmin* and the predicate is the *dharma*; the relation between the two is not so fixed as that which, according to the Vaiśeṣikas, exists between *dravyas* and *guṇas*, and, therefore, must be established by syllogism.

(*c*) You say that the subject is specified by the predicate which comes after it. But, if we take the common expression "*nīlotpala*" "blue lotus", it is evident that, if we say only *nīla*, it is impossible to understand what kind of blue object we are to mean. Is it a cloth, a tree, a flower? If, on the other hand, we say *utpala* only, then would it be possible to know what kind of lotus we have in our mind, blue or white or red? Therefore, when we say "*nīla*" we exclude any other colour, while when we say "*utpala*" we exclude any other blue object; so that it is evident that the subject and the predicate specify each other reciprocally, and that the specifying attribute

precedes the specified subject. The reply is that the subject in itself is not the object of any discussion, but variety of opinion is possible so far as concerns the attribute that may be predicated of it; therefore, the first is the notion to be specified, *viśeṣya*, and the second the characteristic which specifies.

Why is the word "*prasiddha*" used? The *dharmin* as well as the *viśeṣaṇa* are the basis of the *pakṣa*; but the two are not in themselves the *pakṣa* and they must be *prasiddha* for both, for the *vādin*, as well as for the *prativādin*; were they not admitted by either of them, the *pakṣa* would be an erroneous one. We may give two examples: (*a*) if a Sāṅkhya, discussing with a Bauddha, argues that the *ātman* is the perceiver, in this case the *ātman* is *aprasiddha* for the Buddhist, that is to say, the *dharmin* is *aprasiddha* (*aprasiddha-viśeṣya-pakṣābhāsa*, *NP.*, p. 3). But, if the Buddhist, discussing with a Sāṅkhya, maintains that sound is "*vināśin*"[1] "perishable", in this case the *dharma* "*vināśin*" cannot be admitted by the opponent (*aprasiddha-viśeṣaṇa-pakṣābhāsa*, *NP.*, p. 2). But what we have in fact to prove is the absolute connection (*avinābhava* 不相離性) of the *dharmin* and the *dharma*, which is expressed in the *pakṣa* as a whole; our aim is not that of proving the *āśrayas* of the *pakṣa*. Were this the case, we should prove these *āśrayas* of the *pakṣa* and so the *sādhana* would prove another proposition. Therefore the *āśraya* of the *pakṣa* must be accepted, *anujñāta* (共許) or *prasiddha*; but of course the *pakṣa*, which expresses their relation, must not be *prasiddha*; otherwise its result would be nil.

viśiṣṭatayā

The *dharmin* and the *dharma* are reciprocally distinct; as, for instance, when I say "*rūpa-skandha* is not the *ātman*", I do not say that the *vedanā-skandha* is not the *ātman*, nor do I say that the *ātman* is *rūpa-skandha*. But, as *dharmin* and *dharma*

[1] It is known that Sāṅkhya is a *sat-kārya-vāda* and that it admits only change but not destruction.

are combined together, they are not such as to exclude each other. This relation is expressed by the law of their being *viśiṣṭāvyāvṛta* (差 別 不 相 離 性).

Svayaṃ sādhyatvenepsita

There are four kinds of *pakṣa*: (*a*) that which is universally accepted, as, for instance, "the eyes see material objects." It is evident that it cannot be matter of discussion.

(*b*) That which expresses a principle already accepted by the school to which the speakers belong, as, for instance, if two Vaiśeṣikas discuss on the existence of the *ātman*.

(*c*) When we establish a thesis in order to demonstrate another, as, for instance, if we say that sound is non-eternal in order to prove that it is *anātman*.

(*d*) A thesis which is not entailed by some a priori theory, *śāstra-nirāpekṣa* (不 顧 論 宗), but which is freely chosen, for the purpose of proving it. The sentence: *sādhyatvenepsita* is meant to exclude the *sādhana*, that is to say the reason and the example. The proposition is to be proved by the reason and the example while these, in order to prove it, must be already proved (in order to avoid *regressus in infinitum*).

Hetus trirūpaḥ

The first distinction that we must make concerning a reason, *hetu*, is that between *utpatti-hetu* (生 因) and *upalabdhi-hetu* (or *vyañjaka-hetu* 了 因).

The *utpatti-hetu* is threefold: *vacana-utp.-h.*, *jñāna-utp.-h.*, *artha-utp.-h.*

(*a*) *vacana-utpatti-hetu*. The words of the *vādin*, as the reason, etc., produce a right knowledge in the *prativādin*.

(*b*) *jñāna-utpatti-hetu*. These words are nothing else but the effect of the knowledge of the *vādin*, and therefore this is the cause of the convincing power of those words.

(*c*) *artha-utpatti-hetu*. "*Artha*" is twofold: it corresponds either to "logical meaning" (道 理) or to "object" (境 界). In the first sense it is represented by the meaning inherent

in the words which are expressed; in the second sense it indicates those objects which may produce a corresponding knowledge in the *prativādin*.

Upalabdhi-hetu is also threefold :—

(*a*) *jñāna-upalabdhi-hetu* is that intelligence which allows the *prativādin* or those who are present at a discussion to understand the words of the *vādin*.

(*b*) *vacana-upalabdhi-hetu* are those words through which the *prativādin* can understand what is the proposition that the *vādin* wants to establish.

(*c*) *artha-upalabdhi-hetu*, that is to say, the understanding of the meaning expressed in the words of the *vādin*.

We have therefore altogether six *hetus*, of which the first three are enunciated in regard to the *vādin* and the last three in regard to the *prativādin*.

pakṣadharmatvaṃ sapakṣe sattvaṃ vipakṣe cāsattvam

Pakṣa-dharmatva. In this sentence the word *pakṣa* means *dharmin* only and not the relation between a subject and a predicate as in the definition already given. That particular predicate which is attributed to the *dharmin* is called, as we saw, *dharma*. This *dharma* can be of two kinds: (*a*) *asādhāraṇa* (不 共 有), which is attributed to the *dharmin*, by the *vādin* only, but not by the *prātivādin*, and (*b*) *sādhāraṇa* (共 有), that is to say, accepted by both and representing the reason. This *dharma*, which is equally accepted and which is taken as the reason, proves that other *dharma*, which is not equally recognized, to be the predicate of the subject.

These two *dharmas* are therefore the predicable of the subject. So in the example " sound is non-eternal because it is a product " the *dharmin* " sound " as well as the reason are accepted by both the disputants; but the predicate " non-eternal ", which was not accepted by the *prativādin* at the beginning of the discussion, is accepted by him as a predicate of the *dharmin* in consequence of the reason, which

he recognizes as predicable of the subject. It is evident that this *hetu* is only a *dharma* of the *dharmin* and not of the predicate.

In Chinese the sentence *pakṣa-dharmatva* is translated 徧是宗法性. In Skt. there is no equivalent for 徧, which usually corresponds to *vyāp*, or *sarvataḥ*. This word, according to K'uei-chi, is used in order to express that the *hetu* must cover completely the whole extension of the subject. Were this not the case, some part of it could remain unproved. *Sapakṣe sattva* (同品定有性). Here the word *sapakṣa* is explained as meaning: of the same class or genus (相似體類). Now, they may ask, why in this case is there not the word: completely (徧) as before? In order to give a reply to this objection K'uei-chi quotes the table of the *hetus* (*hetu-cakra*), as it is expounded in the *Nyāya-mukha*. As I have already dealt with it in my translation of this text I do not here repeat the long discussion. We must only remember that according to Diṅnāga a *hetu*, which is totally absent in the *vipakṣa*, but is partly present and partly absent in the *sapakṣa*, is valid.

Vipakṣa designates those objects or notions in which the *sādhya* cannot be found. In this way Diṅnāga differs from the ancient masters, according to whom *vipakṣa* is either the same thing as "contradictory to the *sapakṣa*" (同品相違), as non-eternal is contradictory to eternal, and so on, or is meant to express a notion different from the proposition, as, for instance, "*anātman, duḥkha*," etc., after having established non-eternity. But according to Diṅnāga the *vipakṣa* of the non-eternal, for instance, is all that to which the predicate "non-eternal" cannot be attributed.

sādhyadharmasāmānyena samāno 'rthaḥ sapakṣaḥ

It is necessary to say *sādhya-dharma* in order to avoid any possible misunderstanding. If one understands it as similarity with the proposition to be proved, then everything would be *sapakṣa* because even in the *vipakṣa* there are qualities such as

anātmatā and so on, which can be attributed to sound. If one understands similarity to the *dharmin* of the proposition to be proved, then many propositions would be without *sapakṣa*. In the example "sound is non-eternal, like a pot", pot is not similar to sound. The pot, in fact, can be broken, burnt, etc., while the same cannot happen to sound.

Vipakṣo yatra so nāsti

We have already seen that the *vipakṣa* is represented by those objects in which the characteristics of the *sādhya* cannot be found.

Tatra kṛtakatvaṃ prayatnānantarīyakatvaṃ vā sapakṣa evāsti vipakṣe nāsty eva

These two reasons are not synonymous. But when somebody argues that sound is non-eternal, they must be used in relation to the particular thesis of the eternity of sound held by the different schools of the *Śābdikas*. Among these there were two main currents; the one maintained that sound is originated when certain conditions are given, but after being originated it lasts eternally. Others held that sound is existent *ab aeterno*, and therefore we cannot speak of a creation of sound, but of a manifestation of sound under special conditions. We have therefore the thesis of the *śabda-utpatti* and the thesis of the *śabda-abhivyakti*. If the Buddhist, refuting the theory of the *śabda-utpatti*, asserts that sound is non-eternal, because it is a product (*kṛtakatvāt*), this reason is valid. But if he uses the same reason against the theory of the *śabda-abhivyakti*, the reason is *anyatarāsiddha* (隨 — 不 成), because, as we saw, that school of the *Śābdikas* held that sound eternally exists. Therefore the right reason in this case will be the other one, as the opponent also maintains that sound may manifest itself in consequence of some exertion. If again he refutes the *śabda-utpatti-vāda* saying that sound is non-eternal, because it is the consequence of some exertion, then the *pakṣa-dharma* is *avyāpiaka* 非) 徧), because the opponent

believes that only the internal sound arises from some exertion, but not the external one.

The word *ādi* (not in Tib.) is explained as including: void, *anātman*, etc.

Dṛṣṭānto dvividhaḥ, sādharmyeṇa vaidharmyeṇa ca, etc.

Sādharmyeṇa means that both the predicate of the subject of the syllogism and the reason are applicable to the example. In the proposition already referred to, "sound" is the subject and "non-eternal" and "product" are respectively the predicate and the reason. Now these two attributes can be equally well ascribed to the example "pot". In fact "pot" is that object in which the *vādin*, the *prativādin* and the *pariṣat* agree that the condition of being a product and of being subject to destruction are coexistent.

But the ancient masters believed that the example is not included in the reason. When a proposition is given there must be the reason and separately the example, which is *sādharmyeṇa* (like a pot in our example) and *vaidharmyeṇa* (like the ether). According to Diṅnāga the threefold characteristic of the reason includes the two examples; the two examples are therefore the reason.

The followers of the ancient school object: "If it be so, the example is not distinct from the reason, but elucidates the meaning of the reason. Then the syllogism is in fact reduced to two members [1]; why do you enunciate the twofold example?

Diṅnāga replies that the example, it is true, belongs to the reason, but it is also true that the reason by itself indicates only the *pakṣa-dharmatā*, but it cannot indicate the *sapakṣa astitvam* and the *vipakṣe nāstitvam*; therefore the separate enunciation of the two examples is necessary, in order to show that where there is the reason there is the *pakṣa*.

The opponent objects again: "As the reason only expresses the *abhidheyārtha* (所 詮 表 義, viz. product), why should

[1] This will be maintained in fact by Dharmakīrti.

it be wrong to call only that the reason and to call the pot or the ether the examples and not the *hetu* ? If you ask, what shall we obtain in this way, the reply is that, if it be so, the example must be enunciated as a different member of the syllogism."

Diṅnāga replies: "Then you accept the theory of the non-Buddhist logicians according to whom the example is only a means or instrument (方 便 *upāya*). If it be so, it is distinct from the reason, but not connected with it. In this way it would assert that there are some objects having the same qualities as that which is to be proved, but it could not have any probative force.

Moreover, if you think that the pot constitutes the essence of the *dṛṣṭānta* then you must admit that pot and sound cannot be compared, as the one can be seen, burnt, and so on, while the other has none of these qualities. But when I say: "if something is a product it is manifestly non-eternal, as a pot", in this way there is a similarity of meaning between the two proprieties, i.e. "being a product" and "non-eternal", and they rest upon objects such as a pot, etc. And again, if reason and example are distinct, the *sādharmya* and the *vaidharmya* with the proposition to be proved cannot demonstrate in any way the indissoluble connection (不 相 離 性) of the *hetu* with the *pakṣa*. And therefore they cannot prove anything. In fact, as you do not formulate the syllogism as we do ("that which is a product is non-eternal," etc.), therefore the *pakṣa-dharma* (product) and the predicate (non-eternal) are not connected through the *sādharmya-dṛṣṭānta* (pot). So that, as the example is defective, when you say "like the pot", your opponent will ask "But how is the pot non-eternal?" Then you are obliged to have recourse to another example, and, in this way, there is *regressus in infinitum* (*anavasthā*, 無 窮).

In this way it is evident that the syllogism in three members is valid and that there is no necessity of admitting the *upanaya* and *nigamana* of the ancient masters. Therefore

according to Diṅnāga this is the real formulation of a syllogism :—

pakṣa sound is non-eternal.
hetu because it is a product,
sādharmya-dṛṣṭānta. Whatever is a product is non-eternal, as a pot.
vaidharmya-dṛṣṭānta. Whatever is eternal is not a product as the ether.

yan nityaṃ tad akṛtakaṃ dṛṣṭaṃ yathākāṣam

The *vaidharmya-dṛṣṭānta* is represented by the exclusion of the predicate (non-eternal). Therefore in its enunciation the negation of the predicate must come before and the negation of the reason will come afterwards ; otherwise it would be nothing else but a re-endorsement of a thesis which represents no object for discussion as both the *vādin* and the *prativādin* will acknowledge that whatever is not a product is eternal. On the other hand, if the predicate is denied (non non-eternal), as it is excluded by the *vaidharmya-dṛṣṭānta*, it is evident that the *hetu* also does not exist (non non-product).

nityaśabdenātrānityatvasyābhāva ucyate, akṛtaśabdenāpi kṛtakatvasyābhāva

We may have many cases.

If the proposition is negative of existence, the *sādhana* (reason and example) must be negative.

(*a*) *ātman* (not accepted by Buddhists) is non-existent.
(*b*) Because it is not perceived,
(*c*) As the horns of a hare.

If the proposition is affirmative of existence, the *sādhana* must be affirmative.

(*a*) Sound is non-eternal (the negation is only of a quality, not of the existence of sound).
(*b*) Because it is a product.
(*c*) Like a pot.

If the proposition is negative, the existence cannot be taken as a *sādhana*, because the reason cannot rest on the non-existent and the example in that case could not have any object to establish. Then in this case the existence must be taken only as *vaidharmya*. As, for instance :—

" The *ātman* is non-existent " because " it is not perceived "

" Whatever is not perceived is non-existent, as the horns of the hare " ;

" Whatever is existent is perceived, as a pot."

On the contrary, if a proposition is affirmative of existence, existence only can be employed as *sādhana*.

Therefore negation and affirmation of existence must be considered as the *vaidharmya* of each other. Moreover, the *vaidharmya-dṛṣṭānta* is only exclusive (遮 詮) (eternal is exclusive of non-eternity), while the *sādharmya-dṛṣṭānta* is affirmative as well as exclusive.

Pakṣābhāsaḥ|tadyathā : pratyakṣaviruddha, anumānaviruddha, āgamaviruddha, lokaviruddha, svavacanaviruddha, aprasiddhaviśeṣaṇa, aprasiddha-viśeṣya, aprasiddhobhaya, prasiddhasambandha

The first five only were formulated by Diṅnāga ; the others were added by Śaṅkarasvāmin.

The *pratyakṣa-viruddha* can be of four kinds, (*a*) contradictory to one's own evidence, but not to that of another, as, for instance, if a Vaiśeṣika discussing with a Mahāyānist says that *sāmānya-viśeṣa* and *mahā-bhūtas* are non-perceptible by the five organs of sense. This thesis is not only (*sva*)-*pratyakṣa-viruddha*, but also *āgama-viruddha* and (*prasiddha*)-*sambandha*, as the Buddhist does admit the same theory.

(*b*) Contradictory to others' evidence, but not to one's one. For instance, if Buddhist discussing with a *Vaiśeṣika* argues that intelligence, desire, joy, etc., are not the object of the perception of the *ātman* ; this is also *viśeṣaṇāprasiddha*.

(*c*) Contradictory to the perception of both the *vādin* and the *prativādin*, as the example given in the *śāstra*.

(*d*) The consequence is that the proposition which is not contradictory either to the *vādin* or to the *prativādin* is the right one, as "sound is non-eternal".

Other cases are possible :—

(*a*) Partially contradictory to one's own evidence, not contradictory to the other's evidence. For instance, if a Vaiśeṣika says "all the four material elements can be perceived by the eye". His thesis is that *vāyu*, "wind" is atomic and cannot be perceived by the eyes. Now he says "all the four material elements", and this is a partial contradiction of his theory. It is also *āgama-viruddha*.

(*b*) Partially contradictory to the other's evidence, not to one's own. For instance, if the Buddhist discussing with a *Vaiśeṣika*, maintains that "earth, water, fire cannot be perceived by the eye". The other, on the contrary, affirms that they can be seen in the coarse state, but not in the atomic condition.

(*c*) Partially contradictory to the theories of both. For instance, if a Vaiśeṣika discussing with a Buddhist says that *rūpa*, *gandha*, *rasa*, cannot be perceived by the eyes. On the contrary both schools admit that *rūpa* can be perceived.

(*d*) Both theories are partially non-contradictory. For instance, if a Buddhist discussing with a Sāṅkhya, says : The *prakṛti* (自 性) and the *ātman*, maintained by you, are subject to change, cannot be perceived, and are non-eternal. They disagree so far as the eternity and non-eternity are concerned, but they agree so far as the non-perceptibility of both principles is concerned.

Therefore among all these various possibilities the proposition which is contradictory to the thesis of the opponent, or the thesis which is contradictory to neither is correct.

Lokaviruddho yathā [śaśī na candro bhavāt], yathā ca śuci naraśiraḥkapālaṃ prāṇyaṅgatvāc chaṅkhaśuktivad iti

(The first sentence is not in the Sanscrit text, but it is in the Chinese translation and in T². It is to be found also in the *Nyāya-mukha*.)

Suppose that somebody without any further determination (we shall see later on the meaning of this determination) says, "*śaśī na candra*, because it exists, as the sun, the stars and so on"; in this case the reason and the example may be exact, but the proposition is contradictory to the general and common opinion. The same is to be said concerning the other thesis, which is attributed to the Kāpālins (結 鬘).

If the proposition to be proved and the *sādhana* are determinate or specified, then there is no mistake. So in the *svato 'numāna* one will introduce his thesis saying, "according to me," etc. In this way the error "*anyatarāsiddha*" is avoided. In the *anumāna* for another's sake one must so specify: "according to your theory." (E.g. the Buddhist will say to a Sāṅkhya: "The *ātman* which is maintained by you is non-existent"). In this way the *viruddha-pakṣa* and other errors are avoided. In the *anumāna* for one's own and another's sake the specification will be reciprocal as regards the special meaning in which the various notions are used. In this way errors such as "*loka-viruddha*", *āgama-viruddha*, etc., will be avoided.

Aprasiddhaviśeṣo yathā Bauddhasya Sāṅkhyaṃ prati vināśī śabda iti

For the Sāṅkhya the notion of indestructibility is well established. Eight cases are possible.

(*a*) *Viśeṣaṇa aprasiddha* for the *vādin* himself, not for the opponent; e.g. if a Sāṅkhya says "Sound, etc., are modifications of the *ālayavijñāna* (藏 識)." The *āl. vij.* is admitted by some Buddhist only, but not by the Sāṅkhya.

(*b*) The opponent's *viśeṣaṇa* is *aprasiddha* for the opponent, not for the *vādin*; example given in the *NP*.

(*c*) *Aprasiddha* for both: if a Sāṅkhya discussing with a Buddhist says "*rūpa* and so on are included among the *padārthas*". The theory of the *padārthas* is accepted neither by the Sāṅ. nor by the Buddh.

(*d*) The *viśeṣaṇa* is partly *aprasiddha* for the *vādin*, but not

for the opponent; e.g. if a Sarvāstivādin (薩婆多) discussing with a Mahāyānist says that the *bhautikas* (所造色) are derived from the *mahā-bhūtas* and the *ālaya-vijñāna*. His school does not admit the existence of the *ālaya*.

(*e*) The *viśeṣaṇa* is partly *aprasiddha* for the opponent, not for the *vādin*; e.g. a Buddh. discussing with a Sāṅkhya says that organs of the sense, such as the ear, etc., are subject to destruction and to change. The Sāṅkhya cannot accept that they are subject to destruction.

(*f*) The *viśeṣaṇa* is partly *aprasiddha* for both, e.g. a Vaiśeṣika discussing with a Buddh. says that *rūpa* and so on are derived from *sāmānya-viśeṣa* and from *svabhāva* (自性). Neither the Vaiś. nor the Buddh. accept the *svabhāva* theory.

The two remaining cases are not quoted by K'uei-chi because it is evident that they have no error: (*g*) Non-*aprasiddha* for both; (*h*) non-partly-*aprasiddha* for both.

Aprasiddhaviśeṣyo yatha Sāṅkhyasya Bauddhaṃ prati cetanā ātmeti

Here also we have eight cases :—

(*a*) The *viśeṣya* is *aprasiddha* for the *vādin*, but not for the opponent, e.g. a Bauddha, discussing with a Sāṅkhya, says "the *ātman* is non-eternal". It is known that no Buddhist believes in an *ātman*; the theory of the specification already referred to must be remembered.

(*b*) *viśeṣya aprasiddha* for the opponent, not for the *vādin*. Example as in the *NP*.

(*c*) *viśeṣya aprasiddha* for both; e.g. a Sarvāstivādin discussing with a Mahāyānist and arguing that the *ātman* exists as a substance.

(*d*) *viśeṣya* partly *aprasiddha* for the *vādin*, but not for the opponent; e.g. if the Buddh., discussing with the Sāṅkhya, says that the *ātman* and *rūpa* are void, without any further specification.

(*e*) *viśeṣya* partly *aprasiddha* for the opponent, but not for the *vādin*; e.g. when a Sāṅkhya, discussing with a Buddh.,

maintains that the *ātman*, *rūpa*, etc., exist as substance. No Buddhist school will admit that, so far as the *ātman* is concerned.

(*f*) *viśeṣya* partly *aprasiddha* for both; e.g. if a Sarvāstivādin, discussing with a Mahīśāsaka (化 地 部), says that the past (去 來) and the *ātman* exist. The existence of time is accepted by both, but not that of the *ātman*.[1]

K'uei-chi expounds here under the item *aprasiddho-bhayo* the main principles of the Vaiśeṣika system, quoting also from the Daśa-padārthī. See Ui, *Vaiśeṣika System*, p. 181.

Prasiddhasambandho yathā śrāvaṇaḥ śabda iti

Here also we have eight cases:—

(*a*) *sambandha* existent for the opponent, but not for the *vādin*; e.g. if a Sāṅkhya, discussing with a *Vaiśeṣika*, says that *karman* is destructible (*vināśin*).

(*b*) *sambandha* existent for the *vādin*, but not for the *prativādin*; the reverse of the preceding example.

(*c*) *sambandha* for both, as in the example of the *NP*.

(*d*) *sambandha* non-existent for both, as if a Sāṅkhya, discussing with a Buddhist, maintains that *karman* is *vināśin*.

(*e*) *sambandha* partly existent for the opponent, but not for the *vādin*; e.g. if a Sarvāstivādin, discussing with a Sāṅkhya, maintains that the *ātman* and the *manas* exist as a reality (*dravyataḥ*). Neither of them thinks that *manas* exists as a real substance; but the Sāṅkhya holds the reality of *ātman*.

(*f*) *Sambandha* partly existent for the *vādin*, but not for the opponent; e.g. if a Sarvāstivādin, discussing with a Mahāyānist, argues that *ātman* and *paramāṇus* exist as realities. The existence of the *ātman* as a reality is accepted by neither of them, but the Sarv. accepts the reality of the *paramāṇus*.

[1] So the text, but it is known that according to the Mahīśāsakas, the past as well as the future, do not exist. Cf. Vasumitra's treatise on the sects (transl. by Masuda, p. 59; Walleser, *Die sekten des alten Buddhismus*, p. 45); cf. *Abhidharma-kośa* (transl. by La Vallée Poussin, v, 24 ff.).

(*g*) *Sambandha* partly existent for both the *vādin* and the opponent; e.g. if a Sarvāstivādin, discussing with a Vaiśeṣika, argues that *svabhāva* and sound are both non-eternal. *Svabhāva* is accepted by neither of them; but the non-eternity of sound is maintained by both.

(*h*) *Sambandha* partly non-existent for both; e.g. if the Sarvāstivādin, discussing with a Mahāyānist, says that the *ātma-bhava* exists *dravyataḥ*.

Eṣāṃ vacanāni dharmasvarūpanirākaraṇamukhena pratipādanāsambhavataḥ sādhanavaiphalyataś ceti pratijñādoṣaḥ

The sentence *dharma . . . mukhena* is to be referred to the five *viruddha-pakṣadoṣa*; *svarūpa* is the *dharmin* of the proposition. This sentence means that mistakes of such a kind prevent the right knowledge from being produced in the mind of the opponent and the *pariṣat*. *Pratipādanāsambhavataḥ* is to be referred to the three *aprasiddha*; *sādhana-vaiphalyataḥ* to the *prasiddhasambandha*.

Asiddhānaikāntikaviruddhā hetvābhāsāḥ

Asiddha-hetu may be understood as reason not proved in itself (*asiddha eva hetu*) or as a reason which cannot prove (*na sādhayati iti asiddha-hetu*). A reason is *anaikāntika* when it is in the *sapakṣa* as well as in the *vipakṣa*; it is called *viruddha* when it is contradictory to the proposition, but proves the *vipakṣa*.

Tatra śabdānityatve sādhye cākṣutvādity ubhayāsiddha

Four cases :—

(*a*) Reason absolutely existent, but *aprasiddha* for both (example given in the *NP*.).

(*b*) Reason absolutely non-existent and *aprasiddha* for both; e.g. if a *Śābdika*, discussing with a Buddh. says that sound is eternal, because it is included in the eternal categories *padhārthas*. The *hetu* is unreal, since neither of them believe in the existence of the *padārthas*.

(c) Reason partly existent, but *aprasiddha* for both; e.g. when the *Śābdika* asserts that every sound is eternal, because it is produced by some effort. Both the *vādin* and the opponent know that this reason is not valid so far as the eternity of external sound is concerned (see before).

(d) Reason partly non-existent and *aprasiddha* for both; e.g. if a *Śābdika*, discussing with a Buddhist, says that sound is eternal because it is included in the *padārthas* and can be perceived by the ear. The first part of the reason in *asiddha* for both.

kṛtakatvād iti śabdābhivyaktivādinam praty anyatarāsiddhaḥ

Eight cases :—

(a) Existent, *anyatarāsiddha* for the opponent; example as that of the *NP.*

(b) Existent, *anyatarāsiddha* for the *vādin*; e.g. if one who believes in the manifestation of sound (*śabdābhivyakti*), discussing with a Buddhist, argues that sound is eternal because it is a product.

(c) Non-existent, *anyatarāsiddha* for the opponent; e.g. if a *Vaiśeṣika*, discussing with a Śābdika, says that sound is non-eternal, because it is included in the *guṇa-padārtha.* The Śābdika does not believe in the *padārthas.*

(d) Non-existent, *anyatarāsiddha* for the *vādin*; e.g. if a Śābdika, discussing with a Vaiśeṣika, says that sound is eternal because it is included in the *guṇa-padārtha.*

(e) Existent, partly *anyatarāsiddha* for the opponent; e.g. if a Mahāyānist, discussing with a Śābdika, argues that sound is non-eternal because it is perceived by the five senses of the Buddha, which, according to him, possess each the totality of sense perception. The opponent will admit only that sound is perceived by the ear.

(f) Existent, partly *anyatarāsiddha* for the *vādin*; e.g. if a *Śābdika*, discussing with a Mahāyānist, says that sound is eternal, for the reason already referred to.

(g) Non-existent, partly *anyatarāsiddha* for the opponent;

e.g. if a Vaiśeṣika, discussing with a Śābdika, maintains that sound is non-eternal, as it is included in the *guṇa-padārtha*, and is perceived by the ear. Perceptibility by the ear is accepted by both. The *guṇa-padārtha* is a tenet peculiar to the Vaiśeṣika.

(*h*) Non-existent, partly *anyatarāsiddha* for the *vādin*; e.g. if a *Śābdika*, discussing with a Vaiśeṣika, argues that sound is eternal for the reason already referred to.

In the *anumāna* for the sake of another, the absolute *anyatarāsiddha* is not an error, if there is the specification already referred to. Here K'uei-chi gives some examples of *anyatarāsiddha* which may be found in some Buddhist texts, specially because in this connection he has the opportunity to extoll the rare ability of his master Yuan Chuang as a dialectician. One example of *anyatarāsiddha* is that which may be found in the third chapter of the *Mahāyāna-samparigraha-Śāstra*, where it is stated that all Mahāyāna *sūtras* are the word of Buddha (proposition), because the whole of them do not contradict the principle that the individuum *pudgala* (補 特 伽 羅) is not the *ātman* (reason), as the *Ekottarāgama*, etc. (增 —) also state (example).

This proposition, if confronted with another's *pratijñā*, is *anyatarāsiddha*, because other schools, as the Hīnayānists, do not admit that the Mahāyāna is non-contradictory to the theory that the *pudgala* is not the *ātman*; as they think that according to Mahāyāna there is an eternally existent substance *ātman*-like. Even if we suppose that Mahāyāna is not contradictory, anyhow the reason is *anaikāntika*, because there are books of other schools as the *Jñāna-prasthāna*, etc.,[1] which do not contradict that theory, though it is known that they are not the word of Buddha. Therefore, in order to avoid these errors, the great Buddhist doctor *Jayasena* (勝 軍), when he was about forty years old, propounded the following inference: All the Mahāyāna books are the word of Buddha

[1] The *Jñāna-prasthāna* is the fundamental work on the Abhidharma for the Sarvāsti-vādins.

(proposition); because they are not included among those books which both the disputants equally do not recognize as the words of Buddha (*ubhayasiddha-abuddhavacana-anantarbhāvāt*) (reason), as the *Ekottarāgama* (example).

By "*ubhayasiddhābuddhavacana*" he meant the teaching of the heretics and of the Sarvāstivādins (*Jñāna-prasthāna* and six *pādas*).

Nobody could succeed in refuting this syllogism.

But when Yuan Chuang met him, he raised the following objection:—

The *Jñāna-prasthāna*, according to a school of the Hīnayāna, viz. the Sarvāstivādins, represents the words of the Buddha, therefore it is impossible to say the *hetu*: *ubhayasiddha*, etc. In fact this would mean that you accept the theory of the Sarvāstivādins that the *Jñāna-prasthāna* is "*Buddhavacana*". But this is against the tenets of the Mahāyāna.

Moreover the Hīnayānist will argue that the syllogism expounded in that way is *anaikāntika*, as it is a mere supposition of the Mahāyānist that the *Jñāna-prasthāna* is not included among the words pronounced by the Buddha. Therefore Yuan Chuang corrected the syllogism, expounded by Jayasena, substituting the specification "accepted by our own system" *svānujñātaprasiddha-abuddhavacana*).

Tatra sādhāraṇaḥ śabdaḥ prameyatvān nitya iti. Tad dhi nityānityapakṣayoḥ sādhāraṇatvād anaikāntikam kiṃ ghaṭavat prameyatvād anityaḥ śabda āhosvid ākāśavat prameyatvān nitya iti.

This principle is based upon the rule that a wide reason only can prove a wide proposition, but not a narrow or limited one, lest it shall be *anaikāntika*. In fact we may have two propositions, a wider one and a narrower. Example of the first: "sound is *anātman*" because even beside sound, everything, according to the Buddhist, is *anātman*. Example of the second: "sound is non-eternal, because there are things that are eternal." A reason also can be wide, e.g. "because it is known" or "because it can be perceived", etc. It is

evident, in fact, that there is no *dharma* which is not knowable, etc. Or it can be narrow; e.g. "because it is a product, etc.", because there are things which are not products. If I establish a narrow *pakṣa* (e.g. "sound is non-eternal" or "it is eternal") and I employ a wide reason (e.g. "because it is known, etc.") then my reason is common both to the *sapakṣa* and to the *vipakṣa*, and therefore it is called *anaikāntika* (不 定). A wide reason is valid only for a wide proposition (e.g. the *prameyatva* for the *anātmatā*). A narrow reason can prove a wide as well as a narrow proposition (e.g. the condition of being the consequence of an effort can prove a wide proposition such as *anātmatā*, because, as everything is *anātman*, there is no existence of a *vipakṣa* and it can also prove a narrow proposition, e.g. the non-eternity of sound).

sapakṣaikadeśavṛttir vipakṣavyāpī yathā, etc.

In order to understand this example we must remember what we already said concerning the two theories about the *utpatti-vāda* and the *abhivyakti-vāda* of sound. For the first school, sound comes into existence from a previous non-existence; it is therefore produced, although after its production it lasts eternally; but it is not manifested as the consequence of some effort. On the contrary, the second school maintains that it exists *ab aeterno*, but it is actually manifested as the consequence of some effort. Now if a *śabda-utpatti-vādin*, discussing with a *śabda-abhivyakti-vādin*, employs the argument referred to in the book, his reason is not only *aprasiddha* for both, but also *anaikāntika*. The reason is explained in the text.

Anityaḥ śabdaḥ kṛtakatvāt (Vaiśeṣika against *śabda-abhivyakti-vādin*; see before).

Nityaḥ śabdaḥ śrāvaṇatvāt śabdatvavat (*śabda-utpatti-vādin* against Vaiśeṣika only). In fact, if this argument is used against any other school, the reason *śrāvaṇatvāt* would be *asādhāraṇa-anaikāntika*, because the other sects do not accept that sound has a nature of its own. But according to the

Vaiśeṣikas, sound, although a *guṇa*, has a nature of its own, and this nature is the *sāmānya-viśeṣa* (sound-ness). According to the *śabda-utpatti* school sound is threefold: (*a*) echo, it can be perceived by the ears but it cannot express anything; (*b*) *śabdatva*, each word has an essence of its own, which exists even beyond the verbal expression. When some conditions are given, it is perceived. Therefore it is not like the *śabdatva* of the *Vaiśeṣikas*, which is the *sāmānya-viśeṣatva*; (*c*) verbal expression.

Both theses, although different in many points, agree in so far as they admit that the *śabdatva* is eternal and can be perceived by the ear.

Ubhayoḥ saṃśayahetutvād dvāv apy etāv eko 'naikāntikaḥ samuditāv eva

The proposition of the *Vaiśeṣika*, as well as the proposition of the Śābdika, is unable to produce an absolute knowledge in the mind of the opponent; and therefore, like the first five errors already referred to, they are *anaikāntika*. In either case the reason is possessed of the three characteristics that any *hetu* must have; but it is *anaikāntika*, even in the case of the Vaiśeṣika, who is supposed to employ this argument ("it is a product)", when discussing with a *śabda-utpatti-vādin* (cf. above).

As therefore both reasons are *anaikāntika*, it is out of place to recall the rule that the thesis which is wrong or to be refuted must be expounded before, and the thesis supposed to be right afterwards (in this case the right one is that of the Vaiśeṣika, who holds a theory similar to that accepted by the Buddhists, for whom also sound is non-eternal); so the objection raised by some critics against the order followed in the *NP.*: (*a*) Vaiśeṣika, (*b*) Śābdika, instead of the other: (*a*) Śābdika,[1] (*b*) Vaiśeṣika, followed in the *Nyāya-mukha* is invalid.

Moreover the thesis of the Vaiśeṣika is supported by the

[1] Cf. my article *Buddhist logic before Dinnāga*, J.R.A.S., 1929, p. 451 ff.

force of the evidence and that of the *āgama* and therefore it is manifestly the right one. Nor do we need to establish the non-eternity of sound following the tenets of an heretical school such as the Vaiśeṣika. The Buddha, as soon as he had the intuition of the real essence of all *dharmas*, saw that sound is non-eternal and expounded this intuition in his teachings; therefore, just in order to show the independence of the Buddhist tenets from those of the other schools, the Vaiśeṣikas are quoted here before. And again those who do not accept Buddhism accept at least those notions which are considered as true by common belief. Now it is evident that sound is produced as soon as some circumstances are given, and after a little while it disappears; so it is clear that the theory of the Śābdikas is untenable.

Tatra dharmasvarūpaviparītasādhano, yathā nityaḥ śabdaḥ kṛtakatvāt prayatnānantarīyakatvād vety ayaṃ hetur vipakṣa eva bhāvād viruddhaḥ.

The reasons given here are two, because the schools of the Śābdikas are two :—

Śabda-utpatti-vādin :	*Śabda-abhivyakti-vādin* :
Sound is eternal;	Sound is eternal;
because it is a product.	because it is the consequence of some effort.
The *sapakṣa* is the ether.	The *sapakṣa* is the ether.
The *vipakṣa* is the pot. The characteristic of being a product is only in the *vipakṣa* but absolutely absent in the *sapakṣa* (= fourth *hetu* of the *hetucakra*).	The *vipakṣa* is the lightning and the pot, etc.,; the reason is completely absent in the *sapakṣa*, existent in some of the *vipakṣas*, as "pot" non-existent in some other *vipakṣas* as the lightning (sixth *hetu* of the *hetu-cakra*).

Dharmaviśeṣaviparītasādhano yathā parārthāś cakṣurādayaḥ saṅghātatvāc chayāsanādyaṅgaviśeṣavad iti ayaṃ hetur yathā pārārthyaṃ cakṣurādīnāṃ sādhayati tathā saṃhatatvam api parasyātmanaḥ sādhayaty ubhayatrāvyabhicārāt.

If a Sāṅkhya wishes to establish that the *ātman* is the percepient, he cannot formulate the proposition; "the *ātman*

perceives and employs the organs of sense as the eye, etc.," because the *viśeṣya* (*ātman*) is *anyatarāsiddha*; the *hetu* "*saṅghātatvāt*" then would be *ubhayāsiddha*, because for the Buddhist the *ātman* is non-existent, and therefore the reason is out of place, while for the Sāṅkhya the *ātman* is not *saṃhata*. The example, on the other hand, cannot prove the *sādhya*. Nor would the proposition, " eyes, etc., are necessarily for the sake of the *ātman*," be right. In fact, the *viśeṣaṇa*, " for the sake of the *ātman* ", is *asiddha*, and the *hetu*, " *saṅghātatvāt*," is contradictory to the *dharma's svalakṣaṇa*. Therefore as a mere expedient they try to formulate the syllogism in another way, " eyes, etc., must be for the sake of something else, *para*." This "*para*" is to be referred in their mind to the real *ātman*, not to the empirical ego, which is represented by the combination of the various senses and sense-perceptions; but they cannot clearly express this idea lest they fall into the errors already referred to; so they use the undefined "*para*" which may equally be referred to the *saṅghāta-ātman* (empirical ego) and to the *asaṅghāta-ātman* (real *ātman*).

Now the real *ātman* preceives the various objects through the eyes, while the empirical ego does not use them, as it is, in fact, nothing else but the sum as it were of the various senses and senses' experiences. On the contrary, bed, seats, etc., referred to in the example are of some use to the empirical ego, but not so much to the real *ātman*. Therefore the reason *saṅghātatvāt* can prove quite well the *svalakṣaṇa* of the *dharma* (*parārthaṃ*); but it is contradictory to the *dharma-viśeṣa* (viz. the *asaṅghāta-para* that the Sāṅkhya has in his own mind).

dharmisvarūpaviparītasādhano yathā na dravyaṃ na karma na guṇo bhāvaḥ, etc.

For the passage see Ui, *Vaiśeṣika Philosophy*, pp. 6, 68, and 181.

ubhayāsiddho dvividhaḥ sann asaṁś ca

As to the theory asserted in the *NP.*, that incorporeity cannot be attributed to the ether, as it is non-existent, the objection may be raised; "ether is eternally non-existent, therefore its essence is *abhāva*, so that it is *amūrta*". This objection is not right, because when I say "*nityaḥ śabdo 'mūrtatvāt*", both the proposition and the reason are affirmative; the proposition affirms the eternity and the reason affirms the property of being *amūrta*. Now ether is only non-existence, and therefore it cannot be *amūrta*.

Another objection is possible. The *tathatā* held by Mahāyānists eternally exists and therefore is called eternal. In the same way the ether is eternally non-existent; so that you must admit that it is eternal. Moreover, if it is non-existent, certainly it is *amūrta*. We reply that the *pakṣa-dharma* is of two kinds: (*a*) it excludes only (但 遮), but it does not affirm (非 表). If I say "the *ātman* is non-existent", I mean to exclude the existence of the *ātman*, not to assert its non-existence. In this case the example also must be exclusive, not affirmative. (*b*) Exclusive and affirmative. When I say, "the *ātman* is eternal," not only do I exclude non-eternity, but I affirm also that it has an eternal nature. The example also then can be exclusive as well as affirmative. So, if in the first case I say "the *ātman* is non-existent, as the horn of a hare", the example, based on the simple exclusion, is right; but if I say, "sound is eternal, like the ether" when I discuss with somebody who does not accept the existence of the ether, then the example would be only exclusive and therefore invalid.

ananvayo yatra vinānvayena, etc.

The passage refers to the ancient masters, who accepted other members of the syllogism, beside the reason and the *dṛṣṭānta*.

pratyakṣaṃ kalpanāpodhaṃ yaj jñānam artharūpādau nāmajātyādikalpanārahitaṃ tad akṣaṃ akṣaṃ prati vartate iti pratyakṣaṃ.

jñānam is used here in order to exclude false knowledge, as, for instance, that of a *taimirika*; in fact, this also is *nāma-jātyādikalpanā-rahitam*, but cannot be called *pratyakṣa*.

The "*jñāna*" (正 智) of the *NP*. corresponds to *abhrānta* (無 迷 亂) of the *Mahāyānā-bhidharma-saṃyukta-saṅgīti*.[1]

The sentence *nāma-jāty*, etc., is explained on the basis of the passage of the *Nyāya-mukha* quoted in the Tattva-saṅgraha.

The *pratyakṣa* is of four kinds, viz. (*a*) *pañca-vijñāna-kāya* (五 識 身); (*b*) *mano-vijñāna* (五 俱 意); (*c*) *ātma-saṃvedana* (自 證); (*d*) *yogi-jñāna* (修 定). The theory is already referred to in the *Nyāya-mukha*.

Tasmād yad anumeye 'rthe jñānam utpadyate 'gnir atra, anityaḥ śabda iti vā tad anumānam

The knowledge is the *upalabdhi-hetu*, while the notions "here there is fire", "sound is non-eternal", are the result which is known. As the cause may be different, viz. either a direct perception or an inference, therefore the result also is twofold. In fact the notions "here there is fire" and "sound is eternal" are different. I may infer the existence of fire from smoke, and therefore in this case the perception is the cause. But when I assert that sound is non-eternal, this notion is the consequence of my being aware of the fact that it is a product; therefore it is derived from an inference. Now the fact of being a product or the smoke are the remote cause, while the memory or the activity of mind is the near

[1] The definition of the *pratyakṣa* alluded to is 自 正 明 了 無 迷 亂 義 which corresponds to an original *svayam pratīto 'bhrānto 'rthaḥ*; but cf. Mahāvyutpatti 7621. K'uei-chi takes this definition from the 雜 集 *Saṃyukta-saṅgīti-śāstra*, that is to say, from the 大 乘 阿 毗 達 磨 雜 集 論 (ch. xvi) by Sthiramati 安 慧. But this definition is to be found already in the 大 乘 阿 毗 達 磨 集 *Saṅgīti-śāstra* by Asaṅga. This fact is worth noting as it proves that Dharmakīrti when completing the definition of *pratyakṣa* as given by Diṅnāga followed some traditions current before him among the ancient Yogācāras.

cause. Through it I remember that, wherever there is smoke, there is fire, and that objects like a pot, etc., are a product and non-eternal. It produces therefore those two particular notions as a result. These three elements together represent the essence of the *anumāna.*

Ubhayatra tad eva jñānaṃ phalam adhigamarūpatvāt

Some objections are raised against the definition on the *pramāṇa.* First of all, they say, we know that a foot and so on are the measure, cloth is the object to be measured, the knowledge of the quantity is the result. Now, in the example already quoted, the sentences "fire is non-eternal", etc., represent the notion to be known, the *patyakṣa* and the *anumāna* are the instruments, through which we know. Which is the result? The Sarvāstivādins on the other hand say: the objects (*viśayas*) are to be known, the organs of sense are the instrument that know, the *citta* and *caitasika-dharmas* represent the result of the *pramāṇas.* But according to the Mahāyāna, they add, the knowledge is the instrument. Which is then the result?

The heretics maintain that the objects are to be known, the *vijñānas* know, the *ātman* is the result of the knowledge. But you, they say, do not believe in the *ātman*; which therefore will be the result of the *pramāṇas*?

The reply is that the very knowledge is the result.[1] The *pramāṇas* know both the *svalakṣaṇa* (object of the direct perception) and the *sāmānya-lakṣaṇa* (object of the inference). As the knowledge derived from the *pramāṇas* is in fact nothing else but a full realization of the form of their respective objects, in mind itself it is called a result. The form of the external objects (相) is only an appearance in the mind. Owing to the difference of the function in one and the same *citta,* we distinguish a moment or part which is active or knows and a part that is passive or it is known.

Or we may say that the *prameya* (that which is to be known) is an image of the mind and therefore not being distinct from

[1] For this question cf. *Bhāmatī ad* Śaṅkara, on *Brahma-sūtras,* II, ii, 28.

the mind, is called the *pramāṇa*. It is object and mind at the same moment. Or also we may say that the knowledge is composed by three elements: (*a*) the vision that represents the active moment (能 量 見 分). (*b*) The consciousness, *sva-samvit* (自 證 分) which represents the result of the apprehension; as any essence is not distinct from its function (體 不 離 用) therefore knowledge is called the result. It realizes the (*c*) form (相) under which the first moment, viz. the vision manifests itself. These three moments are in fact a totality. The *svasaṃvit* as well as the moment of the vision are the *pramāṇa*. But the form also is called "*pramāṇa*", because it cannot be conceived as separated from the active moment. According to Mahāyāna from the *svasaṃvit* the vision-faculty arises which grasps the objects while the *ākāra* is the *vijñāna* derived from an object. Knowledge is therefore a synthesis of three movements.

sādhanadoṣo nyūnatvaṃ

Seven cases are possible, when we have recourse to the *trairūpya* of the reason as it is established by Diṅnāga. (*a*) Deficiency of one *lakṣaṇa*; three possibilities. (*b*) Deficiency of two *lakṣaṇas*; three possibilities. (*c*) Deficiency of three *lakṣaṇas*; one possibility.

I. (1) Sāṅkhya against Śābdika: "sound is non-eternal, because it is seen by the eyes," deficiency concerning the *pakṣa*.

(2) Śābdika against Sarvāsti-vādin: "sound is eternal, because it is audible," deficiency concerns the second *lakṣaṇa*.

(3) id. "because it can be inferred (*prameyatvāt*)," deficiency of the third *lakṣaṇa*.

II. (1) Śābdika against Buddhist, "Sound is not the consequence of some effort, because it is seen by the eyes"; deficiency of the first two *lakṣaṇas*.

(2) Deficiency of the first and third *lakṣaṇa*. "The *ātman* is eternal, because it is not the consequence of some effort" (against a Buddhist).

(3) Deficiency of the second and third *lakṣaṇa*, as the four *viruddha hetus*.

III. Śābdika against the Vaiśeṣika, "sound is eternal, because it is perceived by the eyes."

II

The Edition of the Tibetan Text of the Nyāyapraveśa

Professor Vidhuśekhara Shāstrin of Viśvabharatī has edited in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series (vol. xxxix) the Tibetan text of the *Nyāya-praveśa* comparing both translations with the Sanscrit original and the Chinese translation made by Yuan Chuang.[1]

In this comparative study—the first of this kind attempted by an Indian scholar—the various readings have been carefully noted and discussed, and useful indexes have been added at the end of the volume, which will facilitate the reading of the Tibetan text. The book testifies to the diligence and accuracy of the author. It is only to be hoped that its example will have many followers among the young Indian scholars. I add here some further notes to the text.

Comparative notes *ad* I, 9: *vipakṣa iti*; Chinese seems to follow Skt. *Iti* is = Ch. 名 爲; *wei* 謂 must be taken as introducing the next sentence. It corresponds usually to Skt. *yad uta*.

2, 13; Ch. 似 立 宗 corresponds quite well to Skt. *pakṣa* or *pratijñā-ābhāsa*.

Ad 3, 3–4, Ch. corresponds to Skt. 和 合 因 緣 *samavāyi-kāraṇam* (*ātmā*).

T. 2 looks like a litteral translation from the Chinese.

Ad 2, 4–5, the example shows that T. 1 is wrong when it reads, in 2, 16–17, *prasiddhi-viruddha* instead of *prasiddha-sambandha*. In fact, *prasiddhi-viruddha* is the same as *loka-viruddha*. That a *prasiddha-sambandha* is a *pakṣābhāsa*

[1] The text is based only on the editions of the *bs'Tan ạggur* available in India, that is to say the Narthang redaction.

is quite evident, because a thesis like this: "sound can be heard" cannot be the object of any discussion, as the relation between sound and audibility is already proved.

Ad 3, 5–7, Chin. corresponds to Skt., *pratipādana* (成) *asambhavāt* (不 容). The difference in T.*2 is more apparent than real; in fact, it is evident that the translator, being unable to guess the exact equivalent of the Chinese characters, rendered the Chinese text in this rather ambiguous way: *sgrub mi dgos pai p'yir daṅ sgrub par nus kyaṅ ạbras bu med pai p'yir.*

Ad 3, 9, T. 1, *gaṅ yaṅ ruṅ ba la ma grub* corresponds well to *anyatarāsiddha*; I do not see the necessity of supposing an original *yadyogyāsiddha.*

Ad 4, 8–10, Chin, is not defective at all, but corresponds literally to Skt.

Ad 5, 4–6, Chin. 相 違 may correspond to Skt. *viruddha* as well as to Skt. *viparīta.*

Ad 7, 16–17, I think that the hypothesis advanced by the editor is out of place. I should be inclined to read: . . . *śes pa skyes pa ạdir me 'an* (or *daṅ*) *bum pa mi rtag ces pa.*

So far as T. 2 is concerned, I think that the doubts about it arise from the fact that the Tibetan translator could not understand the Ch.; *de dag rtags la brten nas don rnams dpog pa yin la* is an unclever translation of Ch. 由 彼 爲 因 於 所 比 義, like the following: *yaṅ dag pai ṅes pai śes pa daṅ ldan,* in which 有 has been wrongly rendered as a possessive: *daṅ ldan.* Moreover the reading of the xyl. is defective; instead of *daṅ med* I think that we must read *der me 'o.*

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

A NOTE ON PAÑCA-KĀLA IN CONNECTION WITH PAÑCARĀTRA

The significance of the difficult term *pañca-kāla* used in *Mahābhārata*, xii, 338, 4 (Bombay ed.), does not appear to have been satisfactorily cleared up. It occurs in the list of the hundred names which Nārada utters (along with the epithet or description *pāñcarātrika*) in praise of Nārāyaṇa in the well-known Nārāyaṇīya episode of the epic. The full name or title of the deity appears in the text as *pañca-kāla-kartṛ-pati*, explained by Nīlakaṇṭha as "the lord of the *pañca-kāla* and of the *pañca-kartṛ*". Again, the devotees of Nārāyaṇa, the Ekāntins who worshipped him in the mythical Śvetadvīpa, are also called (xii, 336, 46) *pañca-kālajñas*, apparently meaning "those who know *pañca-kāla*"; and this passage, though not commented upon by Nīlakaṇṭha, has an obvious connection with the passage under discussion, which Nīlakaṇṭha explains. We are not concerned here with *pañca-kartṛ*, which is interpreted, not very satisfactorily, by a reference to *Bhagavadgītā*, xviii, 14–15, where the five sources of a man's action are enumerated; but Nīlakaṇṭha thinks that the *pañca-kālas* or "five times", of which Nārāyaṇa is said to be the lord, are the day and night (*ahorātra*), month (*māsa*), season (*ṛtu*), half-year or solstice (*ayana*) and the year (*saṃvatsara*). This interpretation is scarcely convincing; for, even if it applies to Nārāyaṇa, who may be supposed to preside over this temporal dispensation, it is not clear as to what the Ekāntins have to do with a knowledge of this division of time. There is, on the other hand, no support for Grierson's equation [1] of *pañca-kāla* with the specific "Pañcarātra rules", which are connected with the five times at which the five sacrifices (i.e. the daily offering of the Pañca-Mahāyajñas of Gṛhya and Smṛti works) are

[1] *Indian Antiquary*, September, 1908, pp. 265 and 266, footnote 53.

said to be performed. The fact that Nārāyaṇa's special devotee Uparicara-Vasu is mentioned (xii, 337, 30) as performing five sacrifices to the deity at five times is hardly enough to connect the term with the five Brāhmaṇic domestic rituals and corroborate the etymology or significance suggested. The orthodox five Mahāyajñas need not be performed at *five* different times of the day; at least no such five times are prescribed. Nor need they be performed in honour of Nārāyaṇa. The Nārāyaṇīya *pañca-kāla*, therefore, need not be connected with them. It may be suggested that the term refers to the rites and services to be performed by a Vaiṣṇava during a day, which is divided into five parts. Such observances apparently form the theme of later Vaiṣṇava ceremonial works like *Pañca-kāla-krama*,[1] *Pañca-kāla-kriyā-dīpa*,[2] or *Pañca-kāla-paddhati*[3]—of which observances a remote tradition may be presumed to have existed from the epic times. But it would be hardly critical, in the absence of further evidence, to import a meaning from the later developments of Vaiṣṇavism into the Nārāyaṇīya or Pañcarātra cult of the epic. Unless the word can be shown to refer to some obscure rites or doctrines of a special character of the Nārāyaṇīyas, Ekāntins, or Pañcarātras, we are inclined to offer the explanation that Pañcakāla is nothing more than an extended synonym or variation of the term Pañcarātra as a designation of the cult itself. The term *pañca-kāla-pati*, as an epithet of Nārāyana, would then be easily connected with the other one, *pāñcarātrika*,[4] used by Nārada in the immediate context; and the Ekāntins would be *pañca-kālajñas* in the sense that they were well versed in the Pañcarātra doctrine.

We are not concerned here directly with the origin and

[1] Described in *Descriptive Cat. of Govt. Oriental MS. Library, Madras*, vol. v, p. 2073.

[2] Mentioned in Burnell, *Tanjore Catalogue*, p. 314.

[3] Included in Oppert, *Lists of Sansk. MSS. in Southern India*, No. 291.

[4] Nīlakaṇṭha explains this term as "one who is attainable by the scripture of the Pañcarātras (*pañcarātrāgama-gamya*)."

precise meaning of the term Pañcarātra.[1] Leaving aside fanciful etymologies suggested,[2] we need not discuss in detail whether the term should be connected (1) with Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa's *pañca-rātra sattra* described in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (xiii, 6, 1) as lasting over five nights, or (2) with the five (*pañca*) principal topics or kinds of knowledge (*rātra*, as the apocryphal *Nāradīya* puts it) dealt with in the later Pañcarātra system or texts, or, again, (3) with the later dogma of the school which speaks of five-fold manifestation of the supreme deity by means of his Para, Vyūha, Vibhava, Antaryāmin, and Arcā forms.[3] But it is clear that the last two (and other such) explanations of the term are connected with later developments of the school or system, and cannot be authenticated by anything contained in the description of the cult in the epic itself. The original records of the cult are not available, but in the absence of any other data, the Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa hypothesis appears to be the most plausible explanation. If this view is accepted, then it is not difficult to connect the specific connotation of time, involved in Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa's continuous sacrifice for five days and implied in the designation Pañcarātra of the cult itself, with the obvious general signification of time in the term Pañca-kāla employed with reference to Nārāyaṇa and his Ekāntins. Is it possible that the Pañcarātras had a mysterious five-day rite in imitation of the mythical *pañca-rātra sattra* of the original Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa, just in the same way as the

[1] It is scarcely necessary to point out that, even if their origin might have been independent, the Pañcarātras are apparently identified with the Ekāntins or Nārāyaṇīyas in the epic. Apart from the fact that Nārāyaṇa himself is called Pāñcarātrika, we are told (xii, 339, 110 f.) that the Pañcarātras only intensified the cult introduced by Nārada, which must be the doctrine explained to him by Nārāyaṇa himself.

[2] A. Govindâcārya Svāmin in *JRAS*. 1911, pp. 940 f.

[3] F. Otto Schrader, *Introduction to the Pañcarātra*, Adyar (Madras), 1916, pp. 24 f. Or the term Pañcarātra may be supposed to refer to the five forms of worship of the system, viz., *abhigamana*, *upādāna*, *ijyā*, *svādhyāya*, and *yoga*, which Śaṅkara mentions (on *Brahma-sutra*, ii, 2, 42) in his notice of the school.

mythical three strides of Viṣṇu, as a personification of Brāhmaṇic sacrifice, were imitated by the Brāhmaṇic sacrificer's three strides in the ritual? Perhaps the performance of five sacrifices at five times in honour of Nārāyaṇa by the legendary Ekāntin, Uparicara-Vasu, has something to do with such a rite.

S. K. Dé.

DACCA,
26th July, 1930.

URDU GRAMMATICAL NOTES, II

(a) GENDER OF NOUNS ENDING IN -ā.

The rule that nouns in -ā are masc., with the exception of some Sanskrit words, all Hindi diminutives in -iyā, and certain Arabic abstracts, is only approximately correct. I have made some lists which may be of interest. It might be claimed that one or two of the Hindi nouns are diminutives, but I do not think they can fairly be so described.

Hindi fem. nouns ending in -ā :—

aṅgiyā, bodice.
jāṅgiyā, *jāṅghiyā*, drawers.
chāliyā, betel nut.
saṅkhiyā, arsenic.
badhiyā, bullock, gelding.
bhaṭ kaṭayyā, a prickly plant.
gaṛhayyā, large pit.
ṭhiliyā, earthen pot.
muniyā, amadavat.
mainā, starling.
shāmā, magpie robin.
barvā, poor land.

And the proper names :—

Lankā, Ceylon.
Gaṅgā, Ganges.
Jamnā, Jamnā.
Ajodhiyā
Janīvā, Geneva.

The following are worth adding, for they are so common that the fact of their being Sanskrit is forgotten :—

jaṭā, matted hair.
ghaṭā, dark cloud.
mālā, necklace.
sītlā, smallpox.
pūjā, worship.
sabhā, assembly.
dayā, mercy.

To these we might add :—

kirpā, kindness. *bidyā*, knowledge.

The following Persian feminines should be noted :—

shahnā, flute. *āsiyā* corn mill.
qarnā, horn. *sazā*, punishment.
ḍūn o cirā, excuse. *daġā*, deceit.
sarā, inn. *parvā* caring, etc.
jā, place.

A few Arabic feminines in *-ā* should be recorded as no being abstracts :—

dunyā, world. *qulyā*, name of a sūra in the Qurān.
ṣahbā, wine. *kīmiā*, chemistry (Greek).

(*b*) Are Nouns denoting Males always Masc., an those denoting Females always Fem. ?

It has often been pointed out that *ghar*, house, *qabīla* family, etc., even when used for "wife", retain (as i natural) their masc. gender. I have never seen any mentione on the other side, and therefore venture to adduce th following :—

badhiyā f., bullock, gelding.
asāmī f., client, tenant (male or female).
savārī f., passenger (male or female).
sarkār f., the government, also single individual, you honour, his honour.
polis, pulīs, puls, f., the police.
ra'iyyat f., plur. *ri'āyā* f. subject, landholder, tenant.

(*c*) The Meaning of "Jānā" in Compounds.

jānā, go, when added to the root of another verb to form a kind of compound verb, either contains or does not contain the idea of "going". Can rules be given ? I would suggest the following :—

(i) When added to intr. verbs *jānā* does not contain the idea of "going" :—

baiṭh gayā, sat down. *so gayā*, went to sleep.
ā gayā, came.

The verb *itself* may of course imply motion, as *haṭ gayā*, moved away.

An exception, perhaps, is *uṭh jānā*, which means not to rise up, but to move out of one house into another.

Along with these must be included the occasional use of *jānā* with *karnā*, to form an intr. compound :—

sirāyat kar gayā, penetrated (*mẽ*, into).

jagah pakaṛ gayā, found a place (*mẽ*, in).

As my colleague, Mr. G. E. Leeson, has pointed out, *jānā* often limits the meaning in a peculiar manner. This point deserves a note to itself.

(ii) When added to tr. verbs *jānā* normally contains the idea of "going" :—

rupayā de gayā, he gave a rupee and went off.

khiṛkiyā̃ toṛ gayā, he broke the windows and went away.

Exceptions.—While it is difficult to say with certainty that in any given case the idea of moving away is entirely absent, we do find sentences in which it is so weak that we may disregard it.

(*a*) Verbs meaning "understand", "take in", etc. :—

maĩ tāṛ gayā, I saw and went way, or I saw and took in.

maĩ samajh gayā, I took in or have taken in.

maĩ jān gayā, I took in or have taken in.

maĩ dekh gayā, I looked and went, or I looked over (the volume).

(*b*) Verbs meaning "eat" or "drink" :—

sārā khānā ragaṛ gayā, or *haṛap kar gayā*, or *khā gayā*, he ate all the dinner and went off, or he ate it up.

sharbat pī gayā, he drank the sherbet and went off, or he drank up the sherbet.

So *haẓm k.*, *caṭ k.*, *nigalnā*, eat or swallow up.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

ASSYRIOLOGICAL NOTE

LUGAL-KI-GUB-NI-DÚ-DÚ CONTEMPORARY OF ENTEMENA?

Inscriptions of the early kings of Erech have been excavated at Nippur, and are written in a script which suggests that they may be older than the first known line of kings and governors (*patesis*) of Lagash. The names of these early kings of Erech as found on monuments of Nippur are commonly read *Lugal-ki-gub-ni-du-du* [1] and *Lugal-kisal-si* (also *si-kisal*).[2] Judging from the script of the inscriptions of Lugalzaggisi,[3] these two kings of Erech cannot be placed long before his period.[4] Lugalzaggisi was a contemporary of the last three kings of the fourth dynasty of Kish (middle of the twenty-eighth century B.C.) and the great line of kings and patesis (*iššakku*) of Lagash were probably contemporaries of the earlier kings of the fourth dynasty of Kish. It is, therefore, probable that Lugal-ki-GUB-ni-dú-dú and Lugal-kisal-si reigned at Erech and Ur in the time of the same Kish dynasty, and were contemporaries [5] of Eannatum and Entemena at Lagash and the kings of Kish, Gimil-Sin, Ur-Zamamama, Zimudar. The dynastic lists recognize Kish only as the capital of Sumer and Accad in this period, but the rulers of Lagash and Erech also call themselves indifferently "kings" or "patesis". So Akurgal son of Ur-Nina and father of Eannatum is described as king of Lagash and also patesi of Lagash.[6] Urukagina calls himself "king of Lagash", but his great predecessors, Eannatum

[1] Hilprecht, *Old Babylonian Inscriptions*, Nos. 23–5; 86 (also king of Ur).

[2] Ibid., Nos. 86; 91–2. Also king of Ur, No. 86, second vase, l. 7. A vase found at Ur dedicated by *A-nu-zu* the *damkar*, seems to bear the names [*Lugal*]-*ki*-[*GUB ni*-]-*dú*-[*dú*] and *Lugal-kisal*-[*si*], *Ur Excavations*, No. 3.

[3] Ibid., No. 87.

[4] See the judicious remark of Thureau-Dangin, RA. xx, p. 5.

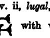
[5] Eannatum was a contemporary of Zuzu, king of Akašk, and of a certain *Al* . . ., king of Kish, both unmentioned in the dynastic lists!

[6] Thureau-Dangin, SAK. 11, No. 4, ii, 8, and 21, b; iii, 2; 27, 1; ii, 1–2.

and Entemena claim the lesser title *patesi*. On the other hand, Urukagina also appears in temple records as *patesi*.[1]

In *Revue d'Assyriologie* xxvii, 125 Mr. Gadd published an important text of Entemena patesi of Lagash which states that he and a certain *Lugal-ki-ni-X-dú-dú*, patesi of Erech, "made brotherhood," formed an alliance.[2] The similarity of the name of this patesi of Erech with the name of the king of Erech commonly read *Lugal-ki-gub-ni-dú-dú* is striking; the fact that this king of Erech must have reigned about the same time as Entemena also forces upon one the suggestion that there must be something wrong about the way in which the name *Lugal-ki-gub-ni-dú-dú* has been read. The reading introduced by Hilprecht, OBI. ii, 46 has been generally adopted; Hilprecht's interpretation of the name *lugal-kigub-nidudu* = *šarru-manzazu(a)-ušaklil*, "The king has finished the place," ibid., 58, n. 2, is clearly grammatical and natural. The sign after *ni* in the new text, RA. xxvii, 125, 17 is taken by Mr. Gadd for REC. 469, but the form (upper horizontal stroke protruding to the left, perpendicular interior stroke) leaves considerable doubt. If it is this sign, it may be read *eš*, *še*, or *šu*. CT. 7, 47, A. 16 has a sign which is practically identical but the variant, Reisner, TU. 173, 13 has here *má*; it is impossible to see *má* in the sign on B.M. 17775. In Genouillac, *Textes Cunéiformes* xv, pl. 14, l. 187, the sign appears to be intended for *dar*, confused with *sī* (= *si-gunu*, REC. 48). In any case *sī* is

[1] RTC. 48, Rev. iii, but 20, Rev. ii, *lugal*, "king."

[2] *nam-šeš*. The sign  with values *šeš*, "brother," and *uru*, "to protect," are different signs in the ancient script. *SEŠ*, REC. 8, has *two* circles above the horizontal shaft, so *šes-sa-ni*, his brother, Allotte de la Fuÿe, DP. 177, i, 6. But *inim* d·*Ningirsu-ka urù-ám*, "As one who observes the command of Ningirsu." Gudea, Cyl. A. 20, 1. Cf. Deimel, *Fara*, Sign List, Nos. 31–2. It is the second sign (uru) which is used to write *urinnu*, "spear." See Deimel, *Fara*, ii, 20, Rev. i, 16; Gudea, St. E, 3, 4; C, 2, 23; Cyl. A, 24, 21. The form originally used in the ideograms for d·Nanna(r) and for the city Uri is *šeš*, "brother." See *Fara* ii, pl. ii, Col. 1, 6.

written in a form almost identical with that used in RA. xxvii, 125, 17 and in CT. 3, 1, B.M. 12156, 2.

Is it possible then to read *še* for *gub* here? *GUB* is glossed *še-e*, AJSL. 36, 159 C. 14; the Accadian rendering may be *magāru*; cf. *še(g)* = *magāru*, Br. 7428, with GUB(*gi-in*) = *magāru*, 4889, but this is improbable; for the same text, AJSL. 36, 158 B. 26, has GUB(*gi-e*) = *magāru*. It is probable that *GUB* has the value *še* in two passages indicating that a compound verb is construed with *šu*, *še*; *gud-dú máš-dú-GUB* (*šê*) *si-im-di-di-e*, "He provided sleek oxen and sleek kids," Gudea, Cyl. A., 1, 14, and parallel passage, *gud-dú máš-dú-GUB(šê) giš-be-šum*, "He slaughtered sleek oxen and sleek kids," 18, 7. In both passages Thureau-Dangin also took *GUB* for a particle reading *rá*. But admitting that these compound verbs *si-di* and *giš-šum* are construed with *ra*, it would be difficult to admit this with neuter objects; for *ra* is construed with persons, and *šú*, *še* with things.[1] There is a clear example of *si-di* (also *si-sá* is a correct reading) construed with *šú*, *šé*; *illuru* ^kuš^*E-TUM-UR-mé-šú si-di-da-zu* = *tilpanu u kababu ina šutêšuri-ki*, "When thou directest javelin and shield," RA. 12, 79, 17. I did not understand the syntax in my edition, ibid., and supposed *šú* to stand for *šu*, making a causative verb, *šu-si-di*. It is, therefore, most probable that *GUB* is the postfixed directive particle *šê* in the passages cited.

Comparing the two readings of the name of the king of Erech and using *še* for *gub*, the result is (1) *lugal-ki-šê-ni-dú-dú*, (2) *lugal-ki-ni-šē* (*èš*, or perhaps *sī*)-*d̃ú-dú*. The order of the signs in early names is not constant; with this reading the name as written in RA. xxvii, 125 is *Lugal-ki-ni-še-dú-dú* (or *rû-rû*, *ul-ul*), perhaps, "The king made fit for his place," which is not good Sumerian, *ki* never being used in that way. *ki-šé*, "to the earth," is possible. Only *du-du* or *ru-ru* are admissible readings, and the name being derived from some

[1] *Sumerian Grammar*, § 80. Cf. ^d^*Enlil-ra Nibru-šú kàš-mu-un-na-dib-bi*, "To Enlil and Nippur he *hastened*," Zimmern, *Kultlieder*, 197, ii, 11.

unknown mythological poem must remain unexplained. *Lugal-ki-šê ni-dú-dú*, "The king (title of some god) has made it beautiful on earth," is the most probable interpretation.

Granting that this is the reading, then *Lugal-ki-ni-eš-dú-dú*, as read by Gadd, is clearly the king of Erech, hitherto known as Lugalkigubnidudu. The new inscription makes him a contemporary of Entemena which is certain from all the historical evidence. It is incredible that famous kings of Erech in the same period should have names (in the old readings) so similar, and it is certain that they are the same persons.

S. LANGDON.

THREE PAHLAVI NOTES

1. THE "HARE" IN PAHLAVI

In the "Chapter of Animals" of the Iranian recension of the Bundahišn, the seventh kind of animal is the hare: p. 96, l. 10, *haftom sahūy hast xar-gōš*, "seventhly the *sahūy* (hare) that is the donkey-eared." This passage was not understood by the writers of the Indian recension nor by the Pazandist. The Indian Bundahišn has (ed. Justi, p. 30–1) *səyā xarg<ō>š* in Avestan letters. The Pazandist (Pâzend Texts, ed. Antiâ, p. 41, l. 13) has *ziāgī*, and according to West (*SBE*. v, p. 49, n. 4) the manuscript M. 6 has *zyāgi həst*. This reading *səyā* naturally suggested the Pahlavi *siyā* or *siyāk* "black", and so West translated it. Then the word *hast* (= "that is") was inconvenient and is absent from the Indian recension. But the word of the Iranian recension is certainly to be read *sahūy* derived from the Iranian *saha-* "hare", which is well represented in the Eastern dialects down to the present day, Parachi *sahōk*, Ormuṛi

sikak, Afg. *sōe* m., *sōya* f., Wakhī *süi*, Yidg. *sīy*. The middle Sakan has the form without suffix: *saha-*, of which the nominative singular *sahį*, *sahe* is found twice in E. xiv, 20, 23 (Leumann, *Maitreya-Samiti*, p. 41). In the western dialects, apart from this *sahūy* in Pahlavi, the epithet *xar-gōš* "donkey-eared" replaced the word *saha-*. In Ossetic (Tagaurish) the hare is *tärqūs* "long-eared".

From these Iranian words it is safe to conclude that Indo-Iranian had **śasa-* "hare", preserved as **saha-* in Iranian, but altered by assimilation of the sibilants in Indian *śaśa-*, cf. Avestan *xvasura-* < **sueḱuro-*, Sanskr. *śvaśura-*. This dispenses for Indo-Iranian with Brugmann's suggested connection of Sanskr. *śaśa-* as a reduplicated formation with Greek κεκῆνας· λαγωούς, Κρῆτες (Brugmann, *Vgl. Gram.* i, 2, 732).

2. "Silk"

Corresponding to the Armenian loan-word *aprešum*, *aprišum* "silk" quoted by Hübschmann (*Arm. Gram.*, p. 107), the Middle Iranian form is found in Pahlavi (*Iran. Bund.*, p. 146, ll. 13–15): *ēn xrafstrān Ohormazd pat harvisp-ākāsīh vas apāč avi sūt i dāmān vartēnēt, čēgōn makas kē angupēn kunēt, kirm kē aprēšm*, "as for these noxious insects Ohormazd through his all-seeing providence turns them largely to the profit of his creatures, as the 'fly' which makes honey, and the worm which makes silk." Again, in *Iran. Bund.*, p. 144, l. 5: *kirm i aprēšom* "silk-worm", the form from which the Armenian *aprešum* was borrowed. The meaning of the word in Pahlavi is at the same time assured in accord with Arm. *aprešum* "silk" and NPers. *abrēšam* "silk". The NPers. *abrēšam*, later *abrīšam*, passed to other Iranian dialects, Bal. *abrēšam*, Munj. *vrēšum*, Wakhī *vrīšum*, Iškāšmī *abrēšum*, Šughnī *abrēžum*, Afg. *wrešam* (see Zarubin, *Iran.* i, p. 173; Morgenstierne, *Etym. Voc. Pashto*, p. 90). Besides this compound,

aprēšm < **upa-rēšma*, the simple word occurs in NPers. *rēšam*, *rīšam* with the same meaning "silk". Both words are derived from *rēs-* "to spin", NPers. *rištan*, *rēs-*, *rīs-* (the *-s-* may represent Indo-European *ḱ* or *ǵh*, cf. NPers. *lištan*, *lēs-* *līs-*, "to lick," Greek λείχω) with the common suffix *-ma*.

3. "Wasp"

Further support to the interpretation of Avestan *vawžaka* (Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wörterbuch*, 1346) by comparison with Bal. *gvabz* "bee, wasp, hornet", is given by the word *vaβž*, written [Pahlavi] and [Pahlavi], in Pahlavi. The word occurs in the *Iran. Bund.* as the name of one of the *xrafstrān* "noxious insects": p. 144, l. 11, [Pahlavi] (var. lect. [Pahlavi]) *vaβž hač čand aδivēnak ān ǰ i xānak āšyakān kunēt gilēn*, "wasps of several kinds, that also which makes its house and nest of clay" (read [Pahlavi] *TYNA-ēn*). Again, p. 145, l. 11, [Pahlavi] *vaβz aδivēnak kē āšyakān i gilēn kunēnd*, "the genus of wasps which make nests of clay" (read [Pahlavi] as in 144, 11 and [Pahlavi] *TYNA-ēn*). The same word has been recognized by Benveniste in Sogd. (Buddh.) *"wz'k* SCE. 146 (Benveniste, *Le Sûtra des Causes et des Effets*, ii, p. 31). In the Pamir dialects Munǰānī has preserved *wāfšiya* "wasp, gad-fly" (Zarubin, *Iran.* i, p. 174). The Avestan *vawžaka-* may, therefore, now be confidently translated by "wasp or hornet".

H. W. Bailey.

THE KINGDOM OF KIZZUWADNA

The geographical position of the kingdom of Kizzuwadna has been not unjustly the subject of considerable discussion among Hittite scholars, as it has an important bearing upon both Hittite geography and history. Professor Forrer and his followers placed it in Paphlagonia; in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1923, p. 46, I assigned it to Eastern Cilicia extending from the Saros to the Euphrates, and Mr. Gadd and Professor Götze subsequently arrived at the same conclusion. In fact it was difficult to arrive at any other, since the tribute paid by Kizzuwadna to the Hittite king Mutallis, consisted only of *argamanna* or "murex-purple" (*KB.* i, No. 5, 48), which was in such large quantity as to furnish the Hittite language with a word *arkammas* for "tribute" in general. The murex, however, is not found in the Black Sea, whereas it was the chief trading commodity of the north-eastern part of the Mediterranean. Moreover, Kizzuwadna had both political and commercial connections with Egypt, while in the treaty between Mutallis and Sunassuras, the king of Kizzuwadna, the line of boundary is the river Savri which, as I have shown elsewhere, must be the Sâros of classical writers and the Savranchai of modern Turkish geography. Zilappuna, which is placed upon the eastern side of it by Mutallis (*KB.* No. 5, *Rev.* 62), must be the Zazlippa of *KUB.* xxiii, p. 22, 12, 24, which was in Kizzuwadna and not far from the Mitannian capital Wassuggannas. "The land of Ataniya" on the western side of the river I would identify with Adaniya "the district of Adana", which is coupled with Tarsa (Tarsus), Unnakhara (Ass. Ingira, Gk. Ankhialê) and Qummanna (Komana) in *KUB.* xx, 26, 21. In the treaty with Sunassuras, Kizzuwadna is described as adjoining the Mitannian Murri (not Kharri or Khurri!) who were their eastern neighbours, while Isuwa lay to the north of the latter.

In *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi* xxiii, No. 68, Professor Götze has recently published the text of a treaty

made by the Hittite king Arnuwandas II with the city of Ismiriga which contains an important passage, unfortunately much mutilated, relating to Kizzuwadna. After a reference to certain "mercenaries" (*kussannattallas*), we read: (11) "And do [you] men of Ismirika (*sic*) observe your oath of vassallage (*linkiya* ARDU-*umat*); Ekhaltes . . . . (12) [in] Kizzuwadna hereafter [shall be his ?] the city of Zazlippas; now he is in the city of Wa[ssuggannas] . . . (13) [X] . . . is (is) a man of Ismiriga; in Kizzuwadna the city of Wassugannas (*sic*) is his city; War[tilas] . . . (14) . . . [is a man] of Ismiriga; now his city (is) Ziyaziyas; in Kizzuwa[dna] the city of Wassukkanas (*sic*) [is his city] . . . (15). . . . a man of Ismiriga; his city is Ziyaziyas; in Kizzuwadna his [city] is Wassuk[kanas] . . . (16) . . . . a man of Ismiriga; his city (is) Ziyaziyas; in Kizzuwadna it is Wassuk[kanas] . . .

(17) . . . . . . immas, Nanis and Aliwasus, 4 men of Ismirik (*sic*); in Kizzuwad[na is their city] . . . (18) . . . . . . mazziyas and Murlannis, 2 men of Ismiriga; their [city] is Adaras . . (19) . . . . . [in Kizzuwadna] the city of Aranas (is) their city; Akiyas and Khukhananis [2 men] of Ismiriga (20) . . . . [in Kizzuwadna ?] Terussas (is) their city; Zardumannis and . . . was, 2 men of Is[miriga] (21) . . . misas, in Kizzuwadna Urita (is) their [city].

(22) . . . . . buriya; in Kizzuwadna Urussa (is) their [city] . . . (23) . . . . [a man of the] city of Irrita; in Kizzuwadna U[russas] is his city . . . . (24) . . . . is and Pariyamuwas, 2 men of the city of Zazlippas . . . . ."

The passage, in spite of its mutilation, makes it clear that in the time of Arnuwandas II about 1230 B.C. Wassugganas, once the capital of the Murrian Mitanni, was included in Kizzuwadna, like Irrita which is coupled with it by Subbiluliuma (*KB.* i, No. 3, Rev. 48–54). As Dr. Weidner points out (*Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien*, p. 26), Irrita was situated between Carchemish and Harran, and we may therefore conclude that Wassuggannas was situated, not on the eastern branch of the Khabur, as Professor Hrozný

has suggested, but in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates. In the closing days of the Hittite empire Kizzuwadna must have gained possession of the Mitannian districts facing Carchemish; the possession of them, however, did not last long, as the northern invaders, more especially Moschians and Kaskians, descended upon the cultured lands of the south, destroying, according to Ramses III, the kingdoms of the Hittites, Qody (probably Kizzu-wadna, where the two last syllables are suffixal as in Kalyk-adnos), Carchemish, and Phœnicia, occupying Cyprus and finally establishing themselves in "the land of the Amorites". The older cities were to a large extent destroyed and with them perished the older geographical names.

It is worth notice that Subbiluliuma "descended" from the highlands to the towns of Suta and Wassuggannas, which must have adjoined one another as they were both plundered by him at the same time, and that as soon as the work of plundering was completed he crossed the Euphrates and entered "the country of Aleppo" (*KB.* i, 1, 27–30). The treaty of Arnuwandas II with Ismiriga was probably connected with his wars in the regions of Isuwa (between the southern bank of the Arzanias and the Euphrates) and Kumâ-kha or Komana, which are described in the fragmentary texts also published by Professor Götze in *KUB.* xxiii, No. 72. Here his antagonist was Mîta or Midas, who must have represented the Phrygian invaders then making their way from Europe and north-western Asia Minor and driving the Moschians and similar Pontic nations before them.

A. H. Sayce.

THE HITTITE MONUMENT OF KARABEL

In the brilliant chapter on the fragments of Hipponax in his *Asianic Elements in Greek Civilization* (p. 145) Sir W. M. Ramsay has shown (1) that in the fragment describing the

Royal Road to Smyrna the correct reading, or rather division of words, in the fourth line is—

καὶ μνῆμα Τῶτος Μυτάλιδι, πάλμυδος,

and (2) that the reference is to the two famous stelæ in Karabel, one of which was supposed by Herodotus to represent the figure of Sesostris. In a note he refers to my having read the name of the king in the Moscho-Hittite inscription attached to the figure. As the fact is the best verification known to me of the correctness of my decipherment of the Moscho-Hittite hieroglyphs it is worth while to state it in full.

Many years ago an excellent photograph of the Karabel monument was taken by a Greek. A little later, in 1879, I visited the spot and took a squeeze of the inscription. Unfortunately, the squeeze was injured on my way back to England, and the drawing, accordingly, made from it by Mr. Rylands and published in the *Transactions* of the Society of Biblical Archæology (vii, 2; 1881) was very far from correct. My own drawing made on the spot proves to have been much more accurate. Since then, in 1916, I have been able to examine the exceptionally good cast in the Art Institute at Chicago, where all the characters in the first two lines are clear, while those of the third line can be read with the help of the pencil copy which I made in 1879.

The inscription is as follows:—



My reading would be:—

(1) KŪ *Tua-ti nai-e.*
(2) *Khalmis* DET.-e.
(3) *amis-ku.*

"(1) Monument of Tuatis, the king (2) of the country of Khalmis, (3) the High priest."

The name of Tuatis, written Tuates, meets us again on the stela found at Babylon (Messerschmidt ii): AMEI-*a-me-i* DET. *Tua-a-te-s* KUANI-*ku-a-ni-s* ISI (?)-*mi-i-s a-tu*(?)-*wis-mê Tarku-kam-mi-a-ni-s*, "I am Tuates, chief priest, king of the city of the Tarkamian family" (literally "Tarkammian city-king").[1] In the Tel el-Amarna tablets the name appears as Teuwatti, the chief of Lapana (perhaps to be identified with the Lamena or Lamana of Assur-nazir-pal eastward of Tarsus). In Greek inscriptions it takes the form of *Τεάττης*, an inscription of Tennessos giving us the name of "Trôilos son of Teattes". In Phrygia and the adjoining territory we find *Μῶς*, gen. *Μῶτος* (for *Μοατος*), like *'Ρῶς*. The Vannic king Argistis also mentions a contemporary ruler of Malatiyeh named Tuates (Sayce, xxxviii, 16; *JRAS*. Oct., 1882).

The "land of Khalmis" was the Phrygian district of which "the Midas-city" was the capital as we learn from a Hittite stela discovered there by Sir W. M. Ramsay.[2] The stela is cut in the rock at the entrance to the citadel and represents the standing figure of a god accompanied by an inscription in Hittite hieroglyphs which reads: "The sacred stone of the land of Khalmis." There was another city of Khalma and a land of Khalmis (Khalmadana) on the western side of the northern Euphrates as we have recently learnt from a Hittite cuneiform text (*KUB*. xxiii, No. 72, 39; R. 10, 35). Here, too, it is associated with a king Mitas or Midas.

A. H. Sayce.

[1] The form of the character *tua* in this text is exactly that given to it at Karabel.

[2] *Mittheilungen d. k. Deutchen arch. Instituts*, xiv, p. 182 (1889). The original drawing of the discoverer gives the inscription more correctly than the illustration which omits the first character and blurs the last.

PAUNDRAVARDHANA TO KARNASUBARNA

(In the 7th century A.D.)

This pamphlet, presented by the author, has been reprinted in convenient form and brings together a large number of facts bearing upon the controversial question of the site of Karnasubarna.

It merits the consideration of scholars.

S. C. Ghosh.

GLASGOW UNIVERSITY ORIENTAL SOCIETY'S JUBILEE

The Glasgow University Oriental Society celebrated its Jubilee at Glasgow by a reception and exhibition of Oriental objects in the Hunterian Museum in the afternoon of the 16th December, under the direction of the President, Dr. W. B. Stevenson, Professor of Semitic Languages in the University, and with the patronage of Dr. R. S. Rait, the Principal of the University. In the evening a special lecture was delivered by Professor Garstang on "The Walls of Jericho". A distinguished company graced both the reception and the lecture.

This society, the oldest of its kind in the British Isles, was founded in 1880 by Dr. James Robertson, the Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Glasgow (1877–1907). In 1901 an Historical Sketch of the Society was published, and since then four volumes of its *Transactions* and a volume entitled *Studia Semitica* have been issued by it. To mark its Jubilee, the Society aims at establishing a "Publication Fund", and it appeals to friends of Oriental studies to assist in endowing a capital fund that will produce at least £50 a year.

The Society deserves the fullest support, as besides being the oldest Society of its kind the record of its work is clearly one of growing fruitfulness and energy. In memory of one of its members it has recently established a University Prize for original studies in Arabic, and during the past two years no less than ten books have been published by its members.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE KHASA FAMILY LAW IN THE HIMALAYAN DISTRICTS OF THE UNITED PROVINCES, INDIA. By L. D. JOSHI, B.Sc., LL.B. (Allahabad), LL.D. (London), Barr. at Law., M.R.A.S. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xiv + 368. Allahabad: Government Press. 1929.

This work, produced as a thesis, secured a doctorate in laws in the University of London. It contains a careful and detailed account of the family law of those inhabitants of the Kumaun Division, Tehri State, and Jaunsār Pargana of Dehra Dun, who a century ago would have called themselves Khasa Brahmans or Khasa Rajputs. Living as they did in the Himalayas, they preserved their own customary law, modifying it, no doubt, from time to time, but not following the changes wrought by priestly influence in the Hindu law of the plains. The incidents recorded here are full of interest to the student of ethnography as well as to the lawyer, whether an ordinary practitioner or intent on comparison of different systems. Within the last century woman in Kumaun was a chattel. Even to-day marriage is a civil contract, and the most binding part of it is the entry of the woman into her husband's house, where he need not be present. The ease with which the contract can be terminated by either party would please the most earnest reformer of our own marriage laws. Re-marriage of a widow or a separated wife is permissible, and children taken with the woman to her new husband are accepted as his. Adoption, while admissible, is made not for religious but for worldly purposes.

Rights in land are vested in the village community rather than in the family, and the son does not acquire at birth the full right under the Mitakshara law, though he has a stronger position than in Bengal. A widow, remaining in her husband's house, may take one of his brothers, or even a stranger, and

raise up seed and still be regarded as in his family, though if she goes to the house of another man she loses her position.

The historical account of Kumaun is mainly taken from Atkinson's *Gazetteer*, and a new history of the tract is badly needed. Dr. Joshi's style is rather diffuse and full of repetition. The book would be more useful to both the student and the practising lawyer if these faults were eliminated in a future edition. A notable omission is the absence of a clear definition of the important terms *khaikar* and *hissadār*, and the creation of *thatwāns* during the thirty years of Gurkha rule is not mentioned.

R. BURN.

INDIGENOUS BANKING IN INDIA. By L. C. JAIN, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D.(Econ.), London. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xvii + 274. London: Macmillan and Co. 1929. Price 15*s*.

Dr. Jain has written a competent survey of his subject, and equipped it with well-selected tables and diagrams of such statistics as are available. He admits frankly that the business in India is more largely one of money-lending than of banking in the Western sense, as those engaged in it deal in the majority of cases with their own private capital and do not accept deposits or discount trade bills. His description of methods is clear and full, and he gives adequate accounts of interest charges, the growth of joint stock banks in India, co-operative credit, and attempts to control the evils which are bound to arise from the ignorance of borrowers and the greed of unscrupulous usurers.

In his survey of the extent to which the agriculturists are indebted he might have referred to Sir Harcourt Butler's speech in November, 1922, which showed that over 60 per cent of the landholders in the United Provinces, paying Rs. 5,000 land revenue or more, were free from debt, and of the rest about half were only moderately indebted. The banking crisis of 1913, which brought down so many indigenous banks,

was largely due to departure from sound methods. Too many banks had locked up funds in loans for buildings or in mortgages on land. Dr. Jain is in error in suggesting that the system of *taqavi* dates from the Acts of 1883–4. It was in force from the early days of British rule,[1] and the great development in times of famine should have been mentioned. Loans on joint security have been very successful. In describing the legislation which restricts alienation of land, it would have been well to refer also to the Encumbered Estates Acts which have been very effective in liquidating debt.

Dr. Jain makes a number of practical suggestions for linking the indigenous moneylenders and bankers in the general banking system of the country. These will be useful for the Committee which is now examining the whole question.

R. BURN.

A STUDY OF THE MAHĀVASTU. By BIMALA CHURN LAW. 9 × 6, pp. x + 180, pls. 4. Supplement, pp. 40. Calcutta and Simla: Thacker, Spink, and Co., 1930.

The *Mahāvastu* is well-known for being in its arrangement, as Dr. Law says, most disorderly and full of repetitions. He has therefore gone through the entire text and given translations of the most important passages, and by classing the material under three heads, the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, Gautama Buddha, and stories, he has succeeded in presenting an interesting picture of the legendary portion of the whole. The plates, reproductions of Indian sculpture and painting, are most appropriate and attractive. His method of analysis is excellent, and he has succeeded in preserving the impression of the original arrangement. This, except for a page of introduction and a note by Professor Keith, is all that he gives us, and it is not exactly what we mean by a study. However, he has since made up for this by issuing a Supplement, in which ten pages are devoted to Avadāna or Apadāna

[1] See *Bengal Reg.*, XLVI, 1795.

contrasted with Jātaka, the importance of the study of the Mahāvastu, religion and philosophy, and other important questions. The remainder consists of a useful table of correspondences with Senart's edition and further extracts from the work. Is it intentional that the *Mahāvastu* is called "one of the most important books of Mahāyāna Buddhist literature"? Later on Dr. Law calls it "a work on the Vinaya of the Lokottaravādins among the Mahāsāṅghikas", and he appears to favour the date for the work (third or second century B.C.) given by MM. H. P. Śāstrī, but without contradicting Professor Keith, who puts it five or six centuries later. There is thus considerable room for further study.

E. J. Thomas.

La Catégorie du Duel dans les Langues Indo-Européennes et Chamito-Sémitiques. A. Cuny. Extrait des Mémoires publiés par l'Académie royale de Belgique (Classe des Lettres). Collection in 8°. Deuxième Série, xxviii. 10 × 6½, pp. 68. Bruxelles: M. Hayez, 1930. Fcs. 15.

The question of relationship between Semitic and Indo-European has of late years been studied from the morphological side, and with better results than when the chief aim consisted in drawing up a list of common "roots". M. Cuny's work, even apart from its interest from this general point of view, leads to some solid results in Indo-European and Semitic philology also. He shows that the dual was not originally confined to natural pairs. It was just the other way about, and its use in the case of natural pairs only shows us where it persisted longest. The first four numbers in Indo-European are not the oldest but the latest. They were not needed when there was a dual, a trial, and perhaps a quatrial, but were added when the inflexional period was flourishing, and that is why only these four are inflected.

The whole article is an admirable example of the true comparative method. Its wider significance will have to be considered in connection with such results as those of H. Pedersen.

E. J. THOMAS.

THE ĀRYABHAṬĪYA OF ĀRYABHAṬA. An ancient Indian work on mathematics and astronomy. Translated with notes by W. E. CLARK. $8 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xxx + 90. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. (The Cambridge University Press.) 11*s.* 6*d.*

Professor Clark offers this as a preliminary study based on inadequate material. Even as such it was well worth doing. It allows us to see where at present the chief difficulties lie and whereon further study should be concentrated. The *Āryabhaṭīya* is really two works, the first, the *Daśagītika*, having a separate invocation and conclusion. The subject is astronomy, as is also that of the other work, the *Āryāṣṭaśata*, except for the chapter on mathematics, the *Gaṇitapāda*. The edition is well supplied with references to the works of modern scholars who have studied the subject, as well as to the Indian astronomical literature. The moderation of the editor's judgment on disputed questions inspires confidence.

E. J. THOMAS.

CATALOGUE OF THE ROYAL ENGINEERS CORPS LIBRARY at the Horse Guards, Whitehall, London. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, pp. xxviii + 522. Chatham: Mackays, Ltd. Published by the Institution of Royal Engineers. 1929.

This catalogue has the somewhat unusual feature of being essentially a subject catalogue. Its aim is "to enable officers to see at a glance what books on any one subject (are) to be found in the Library". There is no doubt that from the point of view of the student who is not seeking a particular book, but who wants to know what books there are for him

to study, this is the best arrangement. There is an Index of authors' names, which allows the book to be used as an author catalogue, but anonymous works do not always seem to be adequately treated. Revision by someone with a competent knowledge of German would have been advisable, though the occasional lapses do not impair its usefulness.

E. J. THOMAS.

A GRAMMAR OF THE KUI LANGUAGE. By Rev. W. W. WINFIELD. 10 × 7, pp. xiv + 248. Bibliotheca Indica, 245. Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal. 1928.

A VOCABULARY OF THE KUI LANGUAGE. Kui English. Same author and publishers. pp. xiv + 132. Bibliotheca Indica, 252. 1929.

The speakers of the Kui language are known from the Oriya name *kandha*, *kondho*, as Kandhs and in the Anglo-Indian corruption as Khonds. Mr. Winfield prefers the name Konds as a satisfactory Europeanized term. As Kui is not a literary language, the chief interest of the grammar is philological, and it has a special value from this point of view as it has not been crowded with a Sanskrit vocabulary. Mr. Winfield's grammar is the first executed on an adequate scale, and is specially welcome for its phonetic method and treatment of the syntax. The vocabulary which now accompanies it follows the plan of the grammar, and distinguishes words that are borrowed from Oriya.

E. J. THOMAS.

INDIAN ISLAM. A religious history of Islam in India. By MURRAY T. TITUS, Ph.D. (Hartford, K.S.M.), D.D. (Ohio, Wesleyan). $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xvii + 290. London: Humphrey Milford. 1930. Price 12*s*. 6*d*. net.

A monograph of this kind on Islam in India has long been desired. The numerous sects professing Muḥammadanism in the sub-continent have peculiar qualities due to their

relationships with Hinduism and to ancient local custom, and these sects are of decided interest to anyone engaged in the study of Islam or of India. They are described in the present work in lucid and agreeable fashion; the newest developments of Islam in India—which there has dynamic qualities—being set forth, together with the effects of Western thought and political activity on the ideas of Indian Muslims of different types of mind, both progressive and reactionary. Towards the end of the book there are given some extremely useful tables showing the distribution of Muslims among the various provinces of India, their racial origins and "social classifications", their religious orders and their languages. Several pages also are devoted to the vernacular press, the periodicals belonging to which are distributed over all the provinces of India and make use of numerous languages, including English.

The sections of the book dealing with the later history of Muḥammadanism and its development in India are of considerable value and interest. For the early part of the history and for his general account of the Islamic institutions the author has, unfortunately, relied on late and secondary sources mostly in translations from Arabic and Persian, with the result that much of what he says on these subjects is obsolete. Dr. Titus still regards the early Muslims as having set forth with the Qur'ān in one hand and a sword in the other, but he leaves unexplained how it was that in these circumstances so much of a country like Persia, for example, in spite of its being a province of the Caliphate, remained unconverted until well on in the third century of Islam. Also he still maintains (pp. 17 f.) that Muslim canon law—as though Islam also recognized a secular law—early in the development of the faith made *jihād* incumbent on every Muslim sovereign and that "the people against whom the *jihād* is directed must first be invited to embrace Islam. If they refuse they have two alternatives: (1) to submit to Muslim rule, become *dhimmīs*, and pay the *jizyah* (poll-tax)

and *kharāj* (land-tax); or (2) fight". Actually, there is little doubt that, under the Umayyads and after, all holders of land, whether unbelievers or Muslims, were made to pay *kharāj*; and in the first century of Islam, if not later, *jizya* and *kharāj* were interchangeable terms, a fact which implies that 'Umar at any rate formulated no rule specifying *jizya* as a poll-tax payable in return for Muslim protection. In the passage quoted, Dr. Titus has been misled by his sources into confusing the general and the specialized meanings of the word *dhimmī*, the former being applicable to any person under the *dhimma* of Islam and the latter only to a member of the *ahl al-kitāb*. On p. 18 he inserts an explanatory sentence declaring that "the status of *dhimmī* may be offered only to those people who have a scripture"—amongst whom Islam certainly did not include the Hindus, and yet on the next page he describes how the first invader of India "on approaching a city of the infidels . . . offered them the alternative of embracing Islam or of becoming *dhimmīs* and paying *jizyah*". One can only set down such errors as these to the neglect of good and early authorities and the fact that the author has thereby been led astray into the common fault of seeing in the system of Islam an ordered simplicity which it never possessed except in theories formulated by the *'ulamā* at a comparatively late stage in the development of the faith. Other errors due to the use of translations rather than original texts—though they may be misprints—are *ḥijrat* "emigration" (pp. 62 and 192) for *hijrat*, *dābir* for *dabīr* "secretary" (p. 68), and Ja'far *as-Ṣiddīq* for *al-Ṣādiq*, the 6th imām (p. 84).

R. LEVY.

STUDIES IN THE PSALMS, Part I. By SAMUEL DAICHES, Ph.D. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. ii + 50. H. Milford, Oxford University Press, London, 1930. 5*s.*

This book forms No. 12 of the Jews' College Publications, and its genesis is a paper read before the Society for Old

Testament Study. In this paper, printed as the first essay in these studies, Dr. Daiches put forward the thesis that אדם and בן אדם in many passages of the Old Testament have a meaning not hitherto recognized, viz., "man of wealth," "man of position," often with the implication that such are evil, wicked doers, and that this meaning is specially recognizable in the Book of Psalms. In the present instalment only a portion of the Psalter is dealt with (i–xv) and a clear case is made out for our author's contention, which cannot be ignored by lexicographers.

The second essay maintains that the difficulties of interpretation in Psalms ix, x are overcome by attaching meanings to אנוש and גוים which have hitherto escaped the commentators: אנוש, like אדם and בן אדם, being not "weak man" but "strong man", the haughty, arrogant, wicked man; and גוים "wealthy people", with the added notion of their being oppressors who are not the heathen but bad Israelites. Incidentally, light is thrown on other passages of Scripture (e.g. Haggai ii, 14; Isai. xiii, 7; 2 Chron. xiv, 10) which have troubled the exegetes; and one great gain by Dr. Daiches' theory is that it enables us to read what is before us, the Massoretic Text, without resource to countless emendations.

In the third essay the chief interest circles round the meanings assigned to לאמים in Ps. vii, 8, and to תבל in Ps. ix, 9. Dr. Daiches suggests that לאמים does not denote "nations" but "persons of importance", wealthy people, thus making Budde's emendation אלהים unnecessary; and that תבל means here "the land" (Assyr. *tabalu*) and not "the world", a suggestion which simplifies the interpretation of other difficult passages which are to be dealt with in a forthcoming essay.

Particular interest attaches to the last section of the book which gives a new interpretation of the second Psalm, admittedly a crux to all commentators. Dr. Daiches submits that it is a Psalm entirely Jewish, dealing only with the land

and the people of Israel. Here his view of the meaning of נדיבים, "the nobles" and not "the nation", gives the key to his interpretation; and he suggests that an appropriate heading for the Psalm would be "The great ones in the land, too, should be righteous." The exegesis upsets the common view that the Psalm is Messianic and deserves a detailed investigation. נשקו בר is rendered "worship in purity" (as RV. marg.) and Dr. Daiches rules out absolutely the meaning of "son" for בר, "as it is not the king who is of real importance in this Psalm, but God, whose law the king proclaims and whose righteousness the king practises."

These essays display the acumen which we associate with Dr. Daiches' contributions to linguistics and exegesis, and we look forward to the issue of the further studies, which are to be continued on the lines already indicated in the present volume.

A. W. Greenup.

Pre-Diṅnāga Buddhist Texts on Logic from Chinese Sources. Translated with an introduction, notes and indices by Giuseppe Tucci. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, pp. xxx, 40, 32, 77, 89, 91. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, XLIX. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1929.

The four texts here translated formed part of the materials which Professor Tucci used for his survey of Buddhist logic before Diṅnāga, published in the July 1929 number of this *Journal*, pp. 451–88. To these texts he gives the titles *Tarka-śāstra* (= Nanjio 1252); *Upāya-hṛdaya* (= Nanjio 1247); *Vigraha-vyāvartanī* (= Nanjio 1251); and *Śata-śāstra* (= Nanjio 1189). He translates the two former into Sanskrit (because they are very technical, and because they are such as to appeal to *naiyāyikas* of modern India), while disclaiming the purpose of giving a hypothetical restoration of the original texts. The two latter are translated into English; the *Vigraha-vyāvartanī* being accompanied with an

edition of the Tibetan version in Roman characters, the translation in this case being from the Tibetan as well as from the Chinese.

The first two works are of purely logical interest, though the interest is narrow. Both are concerned with debate (*vivāda*) merely, the subject of the *Tarka-śāstra* being *sophistici elenchi* (*jāti* and *nigrahasthāna*), while the *Upāya-hṛdaya*—though it is a rambling work touching on a variety of topics which appear to have been thought useful to a debater—is interested in sophistry rather than logic. The *Tarka-śāstra* reproduces the familiar divisions of the sophistic art without material modifications, and so far as internal evidence goes there seems to be no reason for regarding it as an early work. It was translated into Chinese in 552–557 A.D., and the attribution of it to Vasubandhu has perhaps no better ground than the cataloguers' dislike of anonymity. There is a passage (p. 25, l. 6 ff.) dealing with *arthāpattisama* which uses the illustration given by Vātsyāyana (the wrong implication "when there are no clouds it does not rain: therefore when there are clouds it does"). Professor Tucci says that this is "alluded to in NS. II, ii, 3, and is almost verbatim quoted by NSB." But (if there is any question of quotation in so trite an illustration) why should not the *Tarka-śāstra* be quoting the sūtra? The work is familiar with the terminology of the *trairūpya* (p. 13, ll. 15–16), which is later than the *Nyāya-sūtra* and *-bhāṣya*. As to the antiquity of the *Upāya-hṛdaya*, Professor Tucci holds that some of the classifications of the *Nyāya-sūtra* do not appear to be so old as those found in the *vāda* section of Caraka; and he infers that the *Upāya-hṛdaya* (which resembles Caraka rather than the NS.) is therefore more primitive than NS. But is the premise sound? Caraka and these other *vademecums* of debate may look more primitive because they did not care to be too thorough. And it is not easy to believe that the *Nyāya-sūtra* and *-bhāṣya*, which after all are great logical works, owe anything to second-rate writings such as (after all allowance is made for the deficiencies of the

Chinese translation to which Professor Tucci frequently calls attention) these still appear to be.

The case is different with the other two works, the *Vigraha-vyāvartanī* attributed to Nāgārjuna and the *Śata-śāstra* attributed to Āryadeva. These are of much greater interest and it is not unreasonable to impute them to great names. The former is an epistemological tract in the characteristic Mādhyamaka vein, embodying an attack on the *pramāṇas* which Professor Tucci is justified in regarding as very closely related to the discussion in NS. II, i, 8–19. He goes so far as to say that "there is no doubt that this refutation of *pramāṇas* was known to the compilers of NS. and to Vātsyāyana . . . " "There is no doubt that the compiler of this section of NS. meant to refute the attacks of Nāgārjuna as contained in the Vigrahavyāvartanī and implicitly in MMK." It is of course plain that NS. is arguing against a sceptic who denies that there is any criterion of truth; and he brings in the dream-argument in the connection (and, as Vidyabhusana long since pointed out, in the language) in which Nāgārjuna employs it; not as a moment in the idealist argument for the unreality of an external world (*bāhya-śūnyatā*), but to suggest that, as dreams have not only no real *objects*, but also no logic or criterion of the real, so also there is no logic in our waking thoughts. This reference to the dream-argument was misunderstood, so that the passage in NS. was thought to be directed against the *vijñāna-vāda*. But, as Nāgārjuna uses it—and as NS. cites it,—it is not a merely idealistic but a sceptical argument; an argument of the *śūnya-vāda*. If Professor Tucci had said that the *sūtra-kāra* meant to refute precisely such arguments as Nāgārjuna puts forward, his position would have been unassailable. But there is still a doubt whether Nāgārjuna was the first to use such arguments: and therefore it seems unsafe to draw the conclusion that this section of NS. is later than (or contemporary with) Nāgārjuna.

The *Śata-śāstra* is neither specifically logical nor epistemo-

logical, but its inclusion among texts on logic is justified by the logical interest of its arguments and of some of its topics, and by the fact that it not only refers frequently to the teachings of the *Vaiśeṣika-sūtra* but even quotes five sūtras which are to be found in *Nyāya-sūtra* III, i (the discussion of ātman. All these quoted sūtras will be found on pp. 32–36 of Tucci's translation of the *Śata-śāstra* : and all form part of Āryadeva's own sūtras, not of the commentary thereon). The obvious inference from these quotations would seem to be that this part of NS., at any rate, existed in very much its present form before the time of Āryadeva. But Professor Tucci finds himself precluded from drawing this inference by the fact that " these quotations are referred to by the commentator not as being taken from the Nyāya system but from the Vaiśeṣikas ". He therefore suggests the hypothesis that these sūtras " were already existent though belonging to a Vaiśeṣika text and not to the NS." But perhaps reference to the Nyāya, *under that name*, could not be expected in any early work ; not because the Nyāya did not exist, but because the name was not applied to the system until comparatively late. It may be suggested that the name first came to be used as a result of that section in Vātsyāyana's *bhāṣya* (on NS. I, i, 1) in which he insists that the five-membered syllogism is *the* method—*paramo nyāyaḥ*. Before that, the school might have been regarded as a modification of the Vaiśeṣika in the direction of orthodoxy ; as in fact it is. And, for want of a better name, and because it was often of no importance to distinguish, opponents might use the term Vaiśeṣika—or sometimes *Yogāḥ* (see Mr. Kṣetreśachandra Chaṭṭopādhyāya's note on *A Peculiar Meaning of Yoga*, published in this *Journal*, October, 1927, pp. 854–8)—to denote either system. Professor Tucci has in this book made generally accessible evidence of first-rate importance. In the translation of the *Śata-śāstra* the book seems to reach the climax of its interest ; but it is from first to last an achievement which compels admiration, and a contribution to the

literature of the subject the full significance of which may take some time to realize.

H. N. B.

Légendes sur les Nartes suivies de cinq notes mythologiques. By Georges Dumézil, Professor à l'Université de Constantinople. 10 × 6½, pp. xii + 213. Paris: Champion, 1930. Price 40 fs.

This is the eleventh volume of the series of the French Institute of Leningrad, and does not at first sight appear to fit into a purely Russian set of publications, but the author is careful to show that the folk-tales, of which he gives fifty-one, with numerous variants, varying but little from each other, have some value, though not much, for comparison with Slavonic hero and giant tales. The legends are from Ossetia, Kabarda, Circassia, Chechenia, etc., and it is a pity that the author's travels in the Caucasus, in 1928, did not include a visit to Ossetia, the country where the memory of these wild "international heroes" of the "iron age" was still very much alive down to almost the middle of the nineteenth century. The Ossets, as descendants of the Alans and Sarmato-Scythians and last surviving representatives of the "Iranians of Europe", preserved many stories showing how good an ethnographic observer Herodotus (in his sixth book) was, and M. Dumézil devotes his first note (pp. 151 to 166) to this point, following the lead of Vsevolod Miller. In this classical field the author has already worked for some years (cf. his studies on the Centaurs, 1929, and the Crime of the Lemnian women, 1924), and the book before us is a useful contribution to the elucidation of Greek, Norse and other mythologies by comparison with early beliefs current in the Caucasus. One of the most interesting passages in the book is that summing up earlier observations concerning the "Roue de Saint Jean", at Basse-Kontz, near Thionville (p. 196), a solar myth found also, with the same name (p. 198), in the Osset stories. The

bibliographic material on pp. 16–18 will be useful to those who read Russian. M. Dumézil has inadvertently inserted a superfluous letter in the honoured name of Kondakov (note on p. 164).

O. W.

ARMENO-PELASGICA. Geschichte der Armenischen Philologie in Kritischer Beleuchtung nach ihren ethnologischen Zusammenhängen dargestellt mit Beilagen und Exkursen über die Asianische-Mediterranische Vorgeschichte. By JOSEPH KARST. 10 × 6½, pp. xii + 213. Heidelberg (Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung). 1930. Price M. 10.

Professor Karst, of Strasbourg, occupies a high place among Armenologists, and this work is dedicated to the Mechitarists and printed by them at their press in Vienna, though published at Heidelberg in the series of " Schriften der Elsass-Lothringischen wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft ". Its name shows its nature as a first attempt to deal with the Pelasgian substratum underlying the so-called " Indo-Germanic " element in Armenian. By " Pelasgian " we are to understand : (1) Proto-Pelasgian, a series of prehistoric tongues of the type of Basque (Euskara), Proto-Caucasian ; (2) Deutero-Pelasgian, e.g. Armenian, Albanian, Deutero-Ligurian and probably the Deutero-Iberian or Ebro-Iberian of north-eastern Spain.

The book is but a summary of conclusions arrived at in a much more extensive work, ready for the press, on the prehistoric Asian-Mediterranean peoples and languages.

Among those to whom Professor Karst acknowledges his indebtedness is Professor Marr, whose " Japhetitic " theories have made so great a stir in the philological world.

There are five chapters : 1, Historical position of Armenian ; 2, Dialects, etc. ; 3, Etymology ; 4, Phonetics ; 5, Morphology. There are also three supplementary monographs, two of which deal with Basque and Armenian and Iranian ethnical

affinities and the third with Thogarma-Thorgom (Togarmah, grandson of Japheth, Gen. x, 3, and Ezekiel xxxviii, 6) as the ancestor of peoples formerly inhabiting the lands from Turan-Turkistan through Armenia to Cappadocia, Crete, Libya, Spain. A threefold index facilitates reference.

O. W.

Rassen und Religionen im alten Vorderasien. By Max Semper. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 468 with front., 8 pl., 8 fig. Heidelberg (Carl Winter). 1930. Price 25 m.

Trained and practised in paleontology and geology, untravelled in the Near East and unskilled in the languages of that region, Herr Semper has yet written a book well worthy of notice on the races and religions of antiquity. His bibliographical list, with five or six hundred entries, is a good one, and his index (very useful, though confessed to be incomplete) covers a wide range of subjects. As a collection of materials from many good sources, with abundant concise references to authorities, this is more than a summary compilation of printed matter checked by consultation with such well-known men as the late von Lecoq, F. W. K. Müller, and Jos. Marquardt; it is an attempt to find in history an inspiration for the Germans and their kinsfolk, a guidance in their religious and ethical life at the present day. The frontispiece is a clue to the purpose of the book; it is a drawing based on the Sasanid relief in Persepolis representing Ardvi Sura Anahita and, as the last chapter shows, Herr Semper claims to have demonstrated the long conflict in history between Anahita (Athene, Walküre, etc.) and Istar (Astarte, Aphrodite, etc.).

Book I is devoted to Ethnography; Book II, Aryan and Caucasian deities (Indra, Mithras, Anahita); Book III, religions of the Aegean and Asia Minor (Minoan and Mycenæan, Nude Goddesses, Attis, etc.); Book IV, interaction of ideas (Hellenic and pre-Hellenic gods, the Caucasian conception,

Marduk and Jahve, the Persian conception, magic and dogmatism); beginning on p. 414 we have an examination of the ideals of womanhood which gives a good view of the main object of the whole work—the contrast between the two erotic types, Anahita and Istar.

Of particular interest is the insistence (e.g. on p. 5) of the author on the great importance of studying the ancestors of the Caucasian peoples of to-day, so little known hitherto from the standpoint of comparative religious history. Plates ii, iii, from originals at Karnak and Luxor, show Mitanni of Mingrelian and Lesghian types like those of to-day.

O. W.

A SHORT HISTORY OF AURANGZIB. By SIR JADUNATH SARKAR. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, pp. ii + 507: map 1. Calcutta: M. C. Sarkar and Sons, 1930. Rs. 5.

This book appears without preface or other introductory matter, but a note on the title-page informs the reader that it is abridged from the author's larger work, that well-known classic, *The History of Aurangzib*. The reviewer is not therefore concerned with the subject-matter, which has already passed the critics, but only with the method of presentation, and the verdict on this point must be almost wholly favourable. The narrative is clearly and orderly, the characterization of individuals is excellent, and, while the book is not short by present-day standards, there is very little indeed that could be spared. The best proof of the author's power of presentation is the fact that even battles are rendered intelligible without the aid of diagrams; but I must admit that I have found the sieges occasionally puzzling, and I should like to suggest that the next edition might be enriched with plans of a few of the more important fortresses, such as Golconda or Bijapur. The map, too, might be improved. It is over-crowded owing to the insertion of details which are not relevant to the subject-matter, notably the network of railways, which make it difficult to follow the system of roads,

a vital topic for the readers; while it does not show all the places mentioned in the text. These, however, are small matters; the book can be recommended with confidence to any readers who have not time or opportunity to study the author's larger work.

W. H. M.

CHRISTIANS IN CHINA BEFORE THE YEAR 1550. By A. C. MOULE. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xiv + 293 pls. 14, illustrations 6. London: S.P.C.K., 1930. 15*s.*

This is a work of value to the student interested in this subject. He will find brought together, if not all the information that is available, yet ample to supply his needs. It consists largely of translations of letters, paragraphs from books, edicts and other literature in various languages, all of which, as would be expected from the author, are adequately documented.

Nestorianism in its two importations and Roman Catholicism in its first mission to China are the subjects of the book. The first Nestorian settlement in the days of that great T'ang emperor, T'ai Tsung, was definitely a mission to the Chinese and for some centuries was not without a measure of success. The second Nestorian importation can hardly be called a mission, at any rate not to the Chinese, amongst whom its propagation seems to have been hardly appreciable, though to some extent it was successful among the conquering Mongols. It was chiefly the religion of certain tribes which had been swept into the Mongol army and of Nestorian officials and soldiers of the coloniae established in various parts of China by the armies of occupation, and the entourage of those armies.

Mr. Moule has been unable to find evidence in support of the theories that have been advanced for the disappearance of the first Nestorian Church. Whether it became a sect of Buddhists, or was destroyed in the persecution that fell on Buddhists and Christians alike in A.D. 845, or whether, far removed from its

base, with no oversight and with few books and little that was distinctive in its faith, it gradually sank into decay, as did Judaism at a later date, Mr. Moule has found no evidence of value to prove. Nor has he been able to find anything to show that with the second advent of Nestorianism under the Mongol rulers any churches of the early mission remained. Nor has he discovered any documents to show in what manner the second Nestorian importation disappeared, or the Catholic Mission founded by John of Monte Corvino. The only reasonable conclusion seems to be that both the second Nestorians and the first Catholics were chiefly associated with the Mongol invaders with their international armies and peoples, and had little contact with the Chinese people. It would be a natural consequence that, along with the expulsion of the Mongols in the latter half of the fourteenth century, occurred the expulsion of the Christians, who disappear from our ken in the wake of the vanishing invaders.

The author, with meticulous care, has presented all the evidence that is of value to the student of this difficult problem. Such scanty records from Chinese sources as he has collected are useful as showing the extent of the ground occupied by the first and second Nestorians, as well as by the Catholics, but Christianity cannot have been of sufficient importance in so vast a country as to command much attention from Chinese writers. It is true that Christians, under the T'ang and Yuan dynasties, occupied high positions. Marco Polo's governorship of Yang-Chou is an instance of this, as also is the Yeh-li-k'o-wen Yuan, or Board for Christians, in the capital, though this is shown to be rather for the control of the Christian nations or tribes, chiefly dwelling in the north-west, than for the control of Christian communities in China itself.

The author has made it clear that the Nestorian monument of A.D. 781 at Hsi-an is the first authentic evidence that exists of Christianity in China. His translation of its text includes the further knowledge acquired since the days of Wylie and

Legge, but has hardly captured the style of the original, or of Wylie. The hymn "gloria in Excelsis Deo", found by M. Pelliot at Tun-huang, is so-called on the authority of Dr. A Mingana who identifies it with the Syriac version. However this may be, the Chinese version bears no resemblance to the Latin version. Seeing that the whole of its translation could equally well be expressed in the third person, as in the original, it seems less graceful to have used "You" and "Yours". Nor does the translation convey the rhythm of the Chinese version. But let the reader be grateful, for the original is not easy.

It may be noted that the opening phrase of the imperial decree, on p. 39, repeats the style of the Tao Te Ching: "The Way has no unvarying name, the sages have no unvarying systems; in succeeding places they have set up their teaching for the unceasing relief of all the living." It is at least doubtful if 隨方 means as stated "to suit the land", but rather "in their several regions". At any rate the decree shows the admirable breadth of view of the renowned ruler in recognizing variety of expression in religion. Again it is doubtful if 生成立要 means "it fixes the essentials of production and perfection", but rather "for initiating and perfecting, it establishes essentials". Instead of "In its speech", perhaps "In its phraseology", or "terminology", might be considered; and instead of "in its principle there is (perfect accomplishment) forgetting the means" perhaps the idea is that, possessing the principles, the details in regard to them may be ignored, for 忘筌 is another Taoist phrase from Chuang Tzu, "the fish being caught the trap may be ignored." The four characters translated "It is the salvation of living beings, it is the wealth of men", is a Buddhist phrase meaning "It saves (or blesses) the living and benefits men". As to "A brilliant breeze blows towards the east", 景風東扇 seems to be a delicate allusion to the "Nestorian breeze fanning the east", seeing that 景教 was the name of the Nestorian church. These and other details need not interfere

with the appreciation of the general reader, and the student who knows the Chinese language may have the pleasure of trying to make his own version of the Chinese texts.

Mr. Moule has rendered a service to all who wish to know what can at present be known about Christianity in China down to the fall of the Mongols.

W. E. SOOTHILL.

DER ANFÄNGER UNSERS GLAUBENS. By Lic. Dr. WILHELM ERBT. $6\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$, pp. viii + 137, pls. 5, map 1. Leipzig: Eduard Pfeiffer, 1930. 11m.

This book describes itself as an investigation of the way in which the Gospels have been transmitted, and if novelty of conclusion be a merit it is highly meritorious! The writer is a Nordist; according to him there is a sort of golden chain connecting the Veda and the Avesta, Zoroaster, the picture of Jesus drawn by Simon Magus, the German Mysticism of the Middle Ages, Martin Luther's book on the Freedom of a Christian, and so on to Kant and Fichte (p. viii). This prepares us for surprises, and we get them.

That the Gospel of Mark was a source of Matthew and Luke, and that a common source (Q, Erbt's SE) lies behind these two is acknowledged by Dr. Erbt, but this does not lead him far enough. A Nordic spirit of divination has enabled him to reconstruct UE, an *Urevangelium*; and SQ, an original *Spruchquelle*. But this is not all. Simon Peter denied his Master, but as told in our Gospels the act was venial; it did no harm to any one. But we read elsewhere of a Simon who dissuaded Jesus from going to His passion, of a Simon who treated Jesus unworthily and objected to the gracious forgiveness of the "Woman that was a sinner" (Luke vii)—in other words a bad Simon. The "betrayer" of Jesus was one Judas, but he is a lay figure, invented for the purpose. According to Dr. Erbt the real betrayer was Simon Peter himself, though afterwards he repented! So we get a tradition of two Simons,

a good and a bad, corresponding to the different parties among the early Disciples. The real Simon, again according to Erbt, lived near Haifa on Mount Carmel, where most of the real activity of Jesus is to be placed, near a little town called in the Middle Ages "Old Tyre".

I do not think it necessary to go much further with Dr. Erbt's theories, and will content myself with one or two detached remarks. (1) William of Tyre really does speak of *antiqua Tyrus*, but this name is unknown to earlier times and to oriental tradition. It is surely not out of place to remark what an ancient place "Old Tyre" must have been if the name really meant what it says! The place is now called *eṭ-Ṭîreh*, whereas Tyre has been called *Ṣūr* or *Ṣor* by both Jews and Phenicians at least ever since Old Testament times. "Old Tyre" seems to me a Crusaders' blunder. (2) A curious statement meets us on p. 2, which may mislead the innocent reader. Dr. Erbt quotes the words of Jesus in Luke vii, 22, and then says Professor Schaeder has proved that enumeration of these works of healing is part of the traditional description of the *Urmensch*. From the context you would gather the authority was "Iranian", but the quotation which follows is not ancient and heathen at all, but only a description in the Mandaean Ginza of the essentially Christian figure of St. Enosh (GR i, 29; ii, 53). (3) A more general point may be kept for the last. Dr. Erbt's over-ingenious reconstruction of the Gospel History is not likely to win general acceptance. So complicated a transformation cannot be deduced from the documents: at the best it must be regarded as serious romance, like that of Venturini and his successors, including Mr. George Moore. But what is the impelling cause that leads to the production of these more or less learned romances? Is it not a feeling that we have not yet produced a satisfactory exegesis of the Gospels themselves, that the story, which in the last resort we owe to Mark, does not seem to hang together? Former generations were content to base their idea of the beginnings of Christianity on the Gospels, the

demand now is to base it on the movement itself of which the Gospels give an account. It is a very difficult task, but if Dr. Erbt succeeds in making his readers convinced that a problem, either of reconstruction or of more intelligent explanation, really is there to be solved his book will not have been altogether unsuccessful.

F. C. BURKITT.

THE MOST NOBLE AND FAMOUS TRAVELS OF MARCO POLO, together with the Travels of NICHOLÒ DE'CONTI, edited from the Elizabethan translation of JOHN FRAMPTON, by N. M. PENZER, M.A. 10 × 7½, pp. lx + 381, pls. 2, maps 11. London: The Argonaut Press, 1929.

It has just been announced that "the most completely equipped Asiatic expedition in modern times is soon to be organized . . . to traverse areas little visited since the famous journey of Marco Polo". If the members of that expedition purpose to follow the route of that wonderful traveller, they will find this book worth their study, less for the text than for the critical notes of Mr. Penzer. Not only they but all those who are interested in the first great Asiatic traveller will be grateful for the issue of this handsome volume.

Only three copies of Frampton's book are known to exist, nor has it ever been reprinted until now. One of the attractions of this issue is that it is presented in its original Elizabethan form and spelling, the "original head- and tail-pieces have also been preserved, together with the sixteenth-century capitals". The edition is on Japon vellum and is limited to 1050 numbered copies. The original woodcut on the title page is by William Monk, R.E., and the volume is printed by the Cambridge University Press.

The pages are not disfigured by notes, which are placed towards the end of the book, there occupying 110 pages, followed by eighty pages of an appendix giving selected passages from Ramusio's version, supplementing the account

in Frampton. The Index also covers nearly forty pages. There is a map showing Europe, Asia, and part of Africa, and in addition eleven new maps "to elucidate the itinerary of our great traveller".

Our geographical knowledge has increased in detail even since the recent days of Yule, whose labours are beyond the need of commendation, as are those of Cordier. Moreover, the recently published work of Benedetto has for the first time classified the various MSS. into the "groups to which they belong", has increased the Yule-Cordier list of MSS. from 73 to 138, and has revealed the existence of one "that contains many of the passages used by Ramusio". The text given in Benedetto is that of fr. 1116; this Yule "owned to be the best text", yet he discarded it in favour of "those used by Pauthier which were much inferior".

Frampton made his version from the Spanish of Santaella and Mr. Penzer in his painstaking Introduction traces the history, not only of this, but, of the other versions. He also discusses at length the itineraries, suggesting certain amendments which are deserving of consideration. Referring to the difficult itinerary from Kinsay to Zayton I have tried in vain to identify the route as described in the texts. It is over forty-six years since I travelled down the Ts'ien T'ang, and can form no adequate judgment from that experience. If Marco Polo had not been so careful to state that the places named were important, it would have been possible to believe that some of them were mere hamlets used as travelling stations. For instance, when Sir Alexander Hosie made his valuable map showing the commercial products of China, he was astonished to find villages of no size shown in the existing maps, while cities not far from them were totally omitted simply because they did not fall in the line of march. There are remarkable route maps still to be found in places, exhibiting every town and hamlet on the journey, but I am not acquainted with one for the route described by Polo. If, as the editor says, "any attempt at tracing the localities on

etymological grounds seems hopeless," then all else seems to resolve itself into guessing. The direction in Chekiang is given as one day south to Tanpiju, three more days presumably in the same direction to Vugiu, two more days south-east to Ghiugiu, three days south undefined, four days to Cianscian which parts a river in two parts, and four days further to Cugiu on the borders of the Fukien province. This seems to reach a total of seventeen days from Hangchow to the border of the adjoining province, a distance representing little more than 10 miles a day, a very slow rate of progress. Neither Yule's nor Phillips' suggested routes satisfy and there is still scope left for some traveller and scholar to solve this difficult problem.

Students of Marco Polo will recognize their indebtedness to Mr. Penzer for his issue of this volume, not least for the valuable introduction and notes which he has provided.

W. E. Soothill.

The Quatrains of 'Omar-i-Khayyam: Persian text taken from two newly discovered oldest manuscripts with an English Prose Version by Friedrich Rosen. $5\frac{1}{4} \times 4$, pp. vi + 200 + 17 + 197, pls. 4. London: Luzac and Co. 7*s.* 6*d.*

This little book is in two parts, English and Persian. The former has a short preface followed by the English translation of 329 quatrains taken from a MS. which may be called J. (جد for جديد "new"), 13 quatrains as given in a shorter fragment contained in Mirza Muhammad Khan Qazvini's *Mūnisu'l-Aḥrār*, and 63 quatrains from another MS. (also provided by Mirza Qazvini) written in Herat in 930 A.H. To these translations a few notes are added; they are clearly meant for readers who know little about Persian. The title page is not quite accurate; 930 A.H. is not "oldest", and J's date is doubtful. The Persian half has an introduction and a short account of Khayyām, followed by the Persian

texts, of which translations are given in the first part, and an article in Arabic by Khayyām on the determination of the quantity of gold and silver in a body compounded of these metals—to show the poet's knowledge of science and his special manner of proving scientific matters. The only MS. of this article is said to be at Gotha. There is no translation of it.

The English translation is unattractive; in a few cases its correctness may be questioned, and sometimes it is unintelligible. For example, in quatrain 71, 1–2, Dr. Rosen's text runs: نومید نیم زبت پرستان کنشت, and he translates "I am not without hope like the idol-worshippers of the temple"; this is the translation of an alternative reading چو بت پرستان. The quatrain given as No. 8 on p. 196 of the Persian text is translated as No. 7 on p. 178 of the English. But the Persian has ایام and the English is Khayyām. Again, in the first quatrain on p. 1, what is the meaning of the last line: "You do a hundred things that are as low as a slave next to that"? Or, take quatrain No. 9: "To-day this verdure is admired by us, until it will be admired—by whom?" But, indeed, there are so many excellent translations of Khayyām that a scholar is hardly justified in producing another unless it is of distinguished merit or special utility. In his Persian note on p. 63 of the Persian part, Dr. Rosen says that there are two "very famous" (خیلی مشهور) translations of the quatrains—that of Fitzgerald in English, and his own in German—a remark that seems hardly fair to the many others who have laboured in this field.

The Persian half is well printed, as might be expected from the Kāvīyānī Press. There are occasional misprints; but that can hardly be avoided, and they are very few. The introduction is written in simple and clear Persian, which does great credit to Dr. Rosen's command of the language and forcibly reminds a reader of an article written by a contributor to the now unhappily defunct Īrānshahr. Its main object

is to settle which of the numerous quatrains which have been attributed to Khayyām are really his. It cannot be said that Dr. Rosen advances our knowledge very greatly. Unless, and until, a really old MS. is found, it is better to be content with Browne's conclusion—"it must, save in a few isolated cases, remain uncertain which of the many quatrains ascribed to 'Umar are really his." Dr. Rosen fixes upon twenty-three as genuine, including the thirteen given in the Mūnisu'l-Aḥrār.

Passing from the introduction to the main text given we observe that it is taken, as Dr. Rosen says in his English Preface and in his Persian Introduction, from the MS. J. But is it? A facsimile of some pages of the MS. is reproduced, and the readings do not always correspond with those of the text. Thus quatrains 76 and 263 are given in the text quite differently from what appears in the facsimile, and the reading in the facsimile is given in notes at the bottom of pp. 39 and 133. From which it appears that Dr. Rosen's text is something other than what he says it is. It is quite certain that the facsimile is that of J, because that MS. is stated by Dr. Rosen to end with the words تمت الرباعيات ٧٢١ and the words تمت الرباعيات الخيام ٧٢١ are reproduced at the end of the facsimile. Dr. Rosen discusses the date of J. The number ٧٢١ *may* be intended for its date, although it is rather abrupt. But its script is nasta'līq, and Dr. Rosen, recognizing that 721 A.H. is too early for a MS. written in this script, decides that it is a copy of an original dated 721 A.H., to which the later copyist has added a certain number of quatrains from other sources. If this theory be accepted it gravely affects the estimate of J's value, and makes it doubtful how far it is worth while to print it and rely on it for an authoritative text. Why, indeed, should it be preferred to the well-known Bodleian MS.?

C. N. S.

Majma'-ul-Baḥrain: or The Mingling of the Two Oceans. By Prince Muḥammad Dārā Shikūh, edited in the original Persian with English translation, notes and variants, by M. Maḥfūẓ-ul-Ḥaqq, M.A., Lecturer in Arabic and Persian, Presidency College, Calcutta. 10 × 6, pp. vi + 146. Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1929.

This small fascicule in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series consists of the Persian text covering 38 pages only of the *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain*, a short prose work dealing with Sufistic doctrine written by Shāhjahān's eldest and favourite son Dārā Shikoh (not Shikūh, which represents only the modern Persian pronunciation of the word), an English translation occupying thirty-nine pages, and an introduction which runs to thirty-five pages. There is also a long list of variant readings and a very full index.

The work is of considerable importance because of its historical connection. Dārā Shikoh was born in A.H. 1024 at Ajmer and executed in A.H. 1069 at Delhi, after being found guilty of apostasy from Islam by a biassed set of orthodox theologians under the influence of his younger and more astute brother. The concluding words of the *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain* set forth the fact that the tract (*risāla*) was completed in A.H. 1065 in the 42nd year of the *faqīr-i-be-andoh* (the unsorrowing ascetic) Muḥammad Dārā Shikoh. This little treatise is not, as is admitted in the foreword contributed by the present Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, a work of deep insight or great spirituality. On the contrary, it is "poor in spirit", formal and concerned with a barren discussion of words rather than ideas. The subject-matter is entirely matter-of-fact and consists of nothing but wooden terminological comparisons. It lacks both eloquence and inspiration.

The editor and translator has, however, done excellent work, and, if there is no surprising disclosure of literary brilliance or of profundity of thought, the translation has at

any rate removed the false glamour with which the career and death of the Mughal prince has tended to invest this and his other numerous, but by no means more interesting or important, literary compositions.

R. P. DEWHURST.

A HISTORY OF THE PERSIAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE AT THE MUGHAL COURT, with a brief survey of the Urdu language. Part I, Babur; Part II, Humāyūn; Part III, Akbar. By MUḤAMMAD 'ABDUL GHANI, M.A., M.Litt. (Cantab.), Professor, Morris College, Nagpur. 8 × 5. Allahabad: Indian Press, 1929.

This is in my opinion a most important and valuable publication, full of matter of the greatest interest. It is dedicated to the late Professor Browne, to whose suggestion and encouragement the work is declared to owe its inception and completion, and it may be said without doubt and with no degree of exaggeration that as a whole, in spite of a little crudity and eccentricity occasionally in the author's English style, it is not unworthy to stand by the side of Browne's own admirable volume dealing with the history of Persian literature under Tartar dominion. The three volumes of which this work consists are very unequal in size. The first, which deals with the reign of Babur, only contains 153 pages, apart from the short introduction and the index. The second volume, which is concerned with the time of Humāyūn, runs to 196 pages. The last, treating the reign of Akbar, is much bigger than the other two put together, so it seems a pity that the portions of the work dealing with the two earlier periods were not bound together to form one volume. The actual portion of the third volume, concerned with the court of Akbar, extends only to 304 pages, but there are three lengthy appendices giving the Persian text and a translation into English of the three sections of the Sih Naṣr of Ẓuhūrī. These appendices cover 163 pages, and they are of very great

value, the English rendering being in my opinion exceptionally well done. The lithographed texts are also excellent.

The whole work is of extreme interest and value. This remark applies in a particular degree to the third volume and most of all to the portion from page 108 to page 170, where a number of the most famous and remarkable *qaṣīdas* of the most brilliant of all *qaṣīda*-writers, the poet 'Urfi, have been printed in full and followed by translations, which seem to me just what translations of Persian verse into English prose should be, no attempt being made to evade difficulties by what are often somewhat disingenuous paraphrases. So far as I know no attempt has been made to translate 'Urfi before.

All three volumes teem with interesting information. Professor 'Abdul Ghani is, fortunately for his readers, much addicted to giving quotations and there is an enormous abundance of them throughout the three volumes. The footnotes, too, constitute a very valuable feature, and I may single out in particular one very long note, occupying nearly twelve pages, on the subject of the modern poet Qā'ānī. This note is, strictly speaking, not very relevant to the main purpose of the book, but the matter of it is so interesting that one cannot help feeling glad that the author has interpreted his subject in such a liberal way. I do not personally like the labelling of Qā'ānī with the title "the Shelley of Persia", because I do not consider that any Persian poet in any way resembles Shelley at all either in thought, subject-matter, or style. Qā'ānī perhaps resembles him as little as any other Persian poet. These attempts to allege parallels between poets of different countries are to my mind useless and misleading.

To indicate all the notable features in these volumes would prolong this notice to inordinate length, but a few specially interesting points must be briefly indicated. In the first volume there are the lists of words given at pages 62 and 131 of Indian words found in Ibn Baṭūṭa and in late Persian

literature. In the second volume we have the note on Qā'ānī, and in the last two most interesting comparisons, firstly between 'Urfī and Naẓīrī (the latter also being compared with Ḥāfiẓ) and between Zuhūrī and 'Urfī, and finally a very forceful and convincing exposition of the erroneousness of the views expressed by Vincent Smith on the poets of Akbar's reign.

These volumes, especially the third, deserve almost unqualified praise, and they may be commended without any reservation to all who are interested in Persian literature in general and in its connection with India in particular.

R. P. DEWHURST.

OUR PERFECTING WORLD, ZARATHUSHTRA'S WAY OF LIFE. By MANECKJI NUSSERVANJI DHALLA, Ph.D., Litt.D., High Priest of the Parsis, Karachi. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 8$, pp. xviii + 266. London: Oxford University Press. 1930. Price 21*s*.

This exceptionally fine book is dedicated to Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, whom the writer acclaims as his friend and teacher, and it may be said at the outset that it reflects the greatest possible credit both on the teacher and the pupil. It is highly interesting throughout, and it is written in a most attractive style. It contains what is practically a history of civilization in all its phases, and while facing boldly and courageously all the defects in human civilization as it now exists it closes on a note of healthy but not exaggerated optimism. The writer holds the view that Zoroastrianism is the most optimistic living religion which exists in the world. Some of his criticisms of other religions are very acute and penetrating. Christianity, for example, he points out, preaches humility and meekness, passivity and peace in terms rarely equalled in clarity by any other religion, yet the Christian nations of the West, owing to their virile and

aggressive temperament, are on the whole the least fitted of all the peoples in the world to realize the Christian ideal.

His views on all subjects are expressed with great clearness and with remarkable detachment and freedom from bias and rancour.

The book begins with an introduction of eighteen pages, at the opening of which the author shows clearly what the present position of the world is after emerging from the greatest cataclysm in history and still experiencing the bitter aftermath of the most terrible war of all time. The world is distracted by class hatred, racial antagonisms and sectional jealousies to an unparalleled extent. There is a world-wide social unrest and an economic upheaval, which have assumed menacing proportions and threaten to be ruinous, yet the final conclusion is not a pessimistic one. The object of Dr. Dhalla is to deal with the religious, mental, social, economic and physical phases of life through all the stages of their development and to show that the universe is unfolding towards the realization of an aim, and that the life of man, though still manifestly imperfect in all its various fields of activity, has been on the whole slowly but steadily progressing towards perfection in accordance with the inexorable laws of co-operation with good and conflict with evil. This he conceives to be the real and vital message of hope that Zarathushtra brings to mankind.

The introduction is followed by the main body of the book, which occupies 354 pages and is divided into six sections. The first of these deals with the thorny question of the existence of evil in the world and gives an analytical description of the four main ways of dealing with it, the attitudes of resistance and non-resistance to evil, the policy of retreat before evil and that of regardlessness towards it. The five following sections deal in succession with the evolution of religion, of mental development, of social life, of economic life, and lastly of the physical side of human life and the satisfaction of its multifold necessities in the shape of food, dwelling, clothing,

agriculture, transport, and medical treatment. The discussion of these topics shows throughout the same high level of clear and profound thinking, based on careful observation and wide reading, the combined result being expressed in a manner which is both stimulating and attractive in a high degree.

Dr. Dhalla's book may be commended to all readers as a most fascinating exposition of the working of a powerful mind, subtle and critical and entirely free from religious or any other kind of prejudice. It recalls to my mind a book which I have always greatly admired, *The Martyrdom of Man*, by W. Reade, but it lacks the bitterness of tone which to some extent characterizes that book and is much more fair-minded and detached from bias.

R. P. DEWHURST.

THE MAHABHĀRATA. Critically edited by VISHNU S. SUKTHANKAR, Ph.D. Ādiparvan fascicules 1–2–3–4 (published in 1927–28–29–30 respectively). 11 × 8½, pp. viii + 400, pls. 4. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1928.

These four fascicules constitute the opening part of a very important and ambitious work. The *Mahābhārata* is the longest and, in some respects, the most important epic in the literature of any language of the world. In dealing with its text the textual critic is faced with a bewildering profusion of versions, and also an amazing mixture of versions. All the problems, which present themselves for solution in editing any text based upon manuscript authorities, exist in the case of the *Mahābhārata* on a gigantic scale and in an intensified form.

The editor, who is responsible for the execution of this exceedingly elaborate and difficult task, is of opinion that a text prepared on eclectic principles will present a more faithful picture of the elusive "original" than any single codex could do. He reasonably admits that an editor who

attempts a reconstruction in this way may make mistakes, but he claims rightly that this is the first attempt to produce a critically-edited text. It is perhaps to be regretted that the promised elaborate introduction, containing a comprehensive account of the available manuscript material and a detailed discussion of the principles of textual criticism accepted and acted upon by the editor, has been postponed and will not be published until the last fascicule of the Ādiparvan is ready for the press. The ordinary reader will, however, find that the information given in the foreword at the beginning of the first fascicule, in the course of what are termed cursory remarks, is quite sufficiently formidable, and on seeing the extent to which the footnotes exceed in matter the actual text of the epic he will wonder how many human lives will be required to carry this enormous task to its final completion. Particulars are given of over fifty manuscripts, which have been utilized in preparing the text of the first two adhyāyas of the Ādiparvan, and the number of various readings is stupendous. The editor's task has been without exaggeration described as monumental, but it must be admitted that Dr. Sukthankar is in a very high degree qualified, by learning, training, skill and enthusiasm to undertake this work and thereby enhance the high prestige of Indian scholarship in the field of Sanskrit studies.

In conclusion, it must be added that the coloured illustrations, which have been designed by the chief of Aundh, seem to me very beautiful and to be in wonderful harmony with the spirit of the great Indian epic which they are intended to illustrate.

R. P. Dewhurst.

Calendar of the Madras Despatches, 1754–1765. By H. Dodwell. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$; pp. 468. Madras: Government Press. 1930. 16 rupees.

The historian of British India cannot complain of a paucity of records. On the contrary, he is apt to be overwhelmed

by their superabundance. This is especially the case with the records of the East India Company which form very valuable historical material. The distance of the Court of Directors in London from the Company's settlements in India, combined with a trading concern's natural desire to make its ventures a financial success, necessitated a close and constant supervision of its servants' activities in the East Indies. Political entanglements with the "country powers," together with the intrigues of hostile European trading bodies, alarmed the directors and led to a still more jealous supervision of the actions of their subordinates. Finally, the fact that the three chief settlements were administered by councils has provided the student with excellent historical records in the form of minutes and dissenting minutes.

In 1920, Professor Dodwell, whose researches into the history of British India are too well known to require comment, edited a series of despatches covering the period 1744–1755, which witnessed the War of the Austrian Succession and the rise and fall of that inveterate political gambler, Dupleix. The despatches of this period bear ample testimony to the fact that neither the directors in England nor their servants on the Coromandel coast had the faintest presentiment that they were to be the founders of a mighty empire. There can be no doubt that, until they realized the danger from their French rivals, trade was their principal preoccupation.

As Professor Dodwell points out in his *Report on the Madras Records*, the despatches from Court began in the year 1670, whereas the earliest existing despatches to Court date only from 1694. The Company's vessels normally left the shores of England some time during December and January, so that they would be able to catch the south-west monsoon in the Indian Ocean and arrive at Madras in June or July. Vessels from Madras were, as a rule, sent home twice a year, in September before the breaking of the north-east monsoon, or early in the New Year. An excellent account of the influence of the monsoon upon early Asiatic commerce can

be read in Mr. W. H. Moreland's penetrating economic study, *India at the Death of Akbar.*

The despatches under consideration commence in 1754, the year when Godeheu arrived at Pondichery to supersede Dupleix, and they cover an important period in the history of our Indian empire, a period which saw the Seven Years' War and the defeat of France. The early despatches in this volume bring out quite clearly the fact that the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was merely a truce, that the war which preceded it had by no means decided the struggle between England and France for colonial and commercial supremacy. The reader of these despatches soon realizes that war is inevitable. To quote but one passage:—

> "Grand naval preparations in France have created such an alarm that the English have been forced to equip a fleet. Exhort the three presidencies to act together for the common good at this crisis."

How important political considerations were becoming is apparent from Pigot's letter to the Secret Committee on the 27th October, 1755:—

> "According to the Company's orders of February 12, 1755, will, in future, address the Secret Committee on the following subjects: military operations, the Nawab's debt, the political situation, H.M.'s squadron, H.M.'s troops, and foreign nations in India."

Yet, in the midst of military preparations, the Company's servants at Fort St. George appear to have been culturally inclined, but, in reply to their request for books, they received the sharp reproof, "this is not the time for forming a library or incurring needless expense." This was in 1755, but, in the following year, we read that the exiles received a "Thesaurus Linguarum Orientalium Turcicae, Arabicae, Persicae, etc." by Mesgnien Meninski. Unable to procure the original edition published in four volumes at Vienna during the years 1680–87, the Company forwarded a new edition published at Vienna

in 1780. Both these editions can be referred to in the Librai of the School of Oriental Studies.

It is, of course, impossible in this short review to do fu justice to the mass of information contained in the despatches. The student of this period will find valuab references to the preparations for war, the Swiss soldiers the Company's service, the career of Yusaf Khan (the Reb Commandant), the schemes of Bussy, the Nawab of Arcot debts, and, last but not least, the condition of trade on th Coromandel coast. Of great interest and importance to th military historian is the fact that Pigot, the Governor Madras, ordered medals to be struck and distributed in h own name in commemoration of the defence of Madras 1758–9. This action produced an indignant remonstran from the Company, pointing out that honorary rewards we the Company's prerogative. Professor Dodwell states in footnote that this appears to be the earliest distribution medals in India.

The despatches end on an ominous note, for the Madr authorities are informed that "at the instance of Pa Benfield's friends, and their favourable representations of h abilities, the Company has added his name to the list writers appointed this season."

C. Collin Davies.

Studies in Jewish Liturgy. Based on a unique MS. entitl *Seder Hibbur Berakot.* In two parts. 9 × 6; p viii + 139; fasc. 4. Philadelphia: The Dropsie Colle for Hebrew and Cognate Learning. 1930. Price $2.

In the conflagration of the library of Turin in 1894 all th Hebrew MSS. were burned. Happily, some years previo to that date Dr. Solomon Schechter, visiting Italy, notic a MS. containing a compilation of prayers, and made a rap copy of it in the cursive Jewish writing. This MS. was afte wards deposited in the library of the Jewish Theologic

Seminary in New York. At the same time Dr. S. Schechter had a photograph taken of three pages. Dr. Abraham Schechter, the author of this book, has now subjected this MS. to a searching investigation. Apparently it had remained unknown to all students of the Jewish liturgy, with the exception of Zunz. It is now just a century since he had seen it and discovered the name of the author, a certain Menaḥem b. Solomon. He also had referred on sundry occasions to some of the poems contained in that compilation, but never gave a reason for ascribing this book to Menaḥem and it is Dr. A. Schechter who is able now, by comparing this work with another, Sekel Ṭob, the author of which was known to be Menaḥem b. Solomon, fully to establish the authorship and also the date when he lived 1140. He calls him "the First Compiler of the Italian Ritual". One may be justified in saying the oldest compiler whose work has come down to us, for it is unquestionably the case that the Jews scattered throughout the world must have had their own ritual, their own liturgy, and their own books of prayer, and, what Menaḥem did in this case, and others in other cases, was simply to write them down in a systematic manner, accompanied by such legal disquisitions as were required for the proper order in the observances of the prayer. Up to the time of the printing one can find great variations. There was no uniformity. Almost every community had its own ritual and it was easy for Zunz to describe in his great work *The Ritual* that a large number of such Uses had existed among the Jews. They were all subject, however, to all the dominating influences which crossed and re-crossed one another, the Babylonian and the Palestinian and, though the Spanish Jews may have asked R. Amram to send them a definite set of prayers, the fact remains that they did not accept it and, on the contrary, this set became the model for the rites prevalent in Germany and France and to a certain extent also in Italy. The local conditions cannot be entirely eliminated and thus we find in this compilation much which owes its origin to Babylon

and much to Palestine. Dr. A. Schechter endeavours now to prove that it represents more the Palestinian tradition, whilst as for the Spanish it represents more the Babylonian. Careful examination of the latter, however, must convince him to the contrary. If the compilation of Menaḥem stands under the paramount influence of Palestine then the same can be said for the same reasons adduced by him for the Spanish rite. The compilation of Menaḥem is highly conflated and it is a recognized fact that the simple text is always the original. If we compare then the two rituals with one another we will find that if one eliminates all the conflation the rest approximates the Spanish rite much more closely than the so-called German rite. In order to prove his case as far as the Palestinian origin of Menaḥem's work is concerned, Dr. A. Schechter does not hesitate to declare as interpolations all the passages found in the Amram compilation when they seem to run counter to his propositions. But, be this as it may, this question does not affect the importance of the book. The author shows himself fully versed in the rabbinical literature of the Middle Ages and thus greatly contributes to the elucidation of some interesting problems in the history of liturgy. The value of the book is enhanced by the publication of twenty-two texts in the original Hebrew to which are added also the three photos from the original MS. taken by Dr. Solomon Schechter and one page of the copy made by the latter. It is sincerely to be hoped that Dr. A. Schechter will now publish the whole work of Menaḥem b. Solomon which will throw a flood of light on the history and development of the Jewish liturgy.

M. GASTER.

DIE ALTEN ORTSNAMEN PALÄSTINAS. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. iii + 125. Leipzig: Eduard Pfeiffer Verlag, 1930. Price 15*s*.

Of all kinds of philological work none is more difficult to lead to some satisfactory conclusion than that concerning

the etymology of proper names and, still more, of geographical names. Many fantastical conclusions have been drawn from etymological investigations. Untenable theories have been built upon them and problems of civilization, of ethnology and of religious beliefs and practices have all been derived from such interpretations of geographical names. Their origin is very obscure; the psychological impulse which leads to such names cannot easily be traced. As a rule such geographical names represent only one aspect, the way in which a place, or a mountain, or a river affects the mind and imagination of the people. Then there comes the question as to whether the names, such as they are recorded, are the work of the then inhabitants when the record was made, or whether they were inherited from older inhabitants who had been displaced and in such a case the possibility also exists that all the names no longer understood by the new inhabitants had been transformed by the well-known process of popular etymology so as to be assimilated to their own language.

The author of the present book is fully alive to all these problems and he endeavours to solve them with all the means which modern critical science places at his disposal. This booklet is the result of a sober and painstaking inquiry, strictly grammatical, free from every flight of fancy, given to no mythological deductions or ethnological hypotheses. The author sticks to the facts, which he groups and enumerates in a systematic manner. He has limited himself only to the names found on the soil of Palestine, with a very slight enlargement towards the North. The upward limit of time is about the third millenium and the lower limit is rightly put at the time of Alexander, fourth century, B.C.E. The profound changes which the country had been subjected to, the influx of the Greek and Roman colonies, and political changes have all contributed greatly to alter the topography of Palestine. His chief source is, of course, the Hebrew Bible, but he has also consulted the Septuagint, especially so far as the pronuncia-

tion is concerned, and also some changes in the names which have been preserved in the Greek version. He has also studied the old Onamastica and has paid serious attention to the list which appeared among the Egyptian records of Tut Moses and Rameses. On the other hand he has not neglected the Babylonian inscriptions. The latter have preserved the vowels whilst in the Egyptian only the consonants are retained. With all this material he has investigated the names first from a purely grammatical point of view. He has divided them further into the Semitic and non-Semitic. The former he has studied according to the roots, classing them into names which can be reduced to words consisting of one syllable, then into three and four, and then those with affixed or prefixed words, and has given them in so many sections. Of these there are twenty-two. In each section small groups have been arranged in alphabetical order, according to their contents, so that it is not very difficult for anyone to find the word as soon as he realizes the suggested etymology. In such wise the meaning of many of the names is made clear at the place which has been assigned to them. Not every name can be easily explained. Therefore, the author has taken care to refer to the best authorities and to the latest works concerning the interpretation of these words, and yet many of them still remain open to different interpretations. In Section C he has then re-grouped a large number of these words according to their meaning into fifty-seven paragraphs. He starts with personal names, such as names of gods and goddesses, of individuals, and then names of tribes, then local conditions, mountainous country, flat country, fountains, land fit for cultivation, homesteads, fortified places, open places, reference to colours connected with some religious ideas, plants, animals, and so forth. In the second section—a very small one indeed—the author endeavours to unravel the mystery of some of the names mostly found in the North, and hypothetically assigns them to some primitive races, probably of Asia Minor. He leaves it an open

question whether these names are due to invaders anterior to the Semitic settlement or are due to those which took place whilst the Semitic element was already settled in Palestine. Thus within a very small compass, in a most concentrated form, the author has been able to give to the student thus far a most complete account and a most luminous interpretation as is possible of the old names in Palestine. The conclusions which the author draws is obvious from the mass of material which precedes this last section. It shows convincingly that the names are mostly Semitic and of a Hebrew origin. Considering the caution exercised by the author one hesitates to try and offer suggestions of any kind. I only venture to suggest that the names of באר לחי ראי (p. 82), and similarly בית לעפרתה (p. 77) might be interpreted in a somewhat different manner. The ל, Lamed, stands probably there for *el*, so that the words would read *beer el ḥai*, which would give a very satisfactory interpretation. As for the transliteration or pronunciation, the author might have consulted also the MSS. of the Bible, with superlinear vocalization; he would then perhaps have found a greater similarity between the Hebrew text and the LXX. It is a pity, however, that the author has not seen his way also to give us a full index of the names, for it is not a very easy matter for anyone immediately to be able to find the names in the numerous lists succeeding one another with such rapidity. The book is extremely concise and compact, and in this form is a veritable mine of valuable information for all those interested in these studies. The price, however, would seem to be far too high, even considering the typographical difficulties of production.

M. GASTER.

THE MEDICAL BOOK OF MALAYAN MEDICINE. Translated by INCHE' ISMAIL, Munshi, possibly in Penang, *circa* 1886, now edited with medical notes by J. D. GIMLETTE and determinations of the drugs by I. H. BURKILL. *The Gardens' Bulletin*, Straits Settlements, Vol. VI, Part 3. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, pp. 152. Singapore: Botanic Gardens. 1930. $2.50.

The present work has an interesting history. Two years ago the attention of the authors was called to a MS. in possession of the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain headed "This is the Medical Book of Malayan Medicine" and endorsed above the heading "Translated by Inche' Ismael, Moonshee". The writer of the endorsement is believed by the authors to have been a British officer employed in Malaya, under whose instructions the munshi prepared the translation. The MS. perhaps formed part of the collections made in the Straits for the Colonial and Indian Exhibition held in London in 1886, though this is only a surmise. The original of which this is a translation was written, it is inferred, in Arabic characters, and was probably valued so highly by its owner that he would not part with it, though he allowed the translation to be made. It bears the marks of being a collection of notes of different dates which was never revised; little order is perceptible in the arrangement of the diseases, and the drugs are called by different names in different prescriptions; there may even have been an intentional obscurity. The earlier portions of the work are characterized by a relative polypharmacy (an average of four drugs in each prescription), the later by a greater simplicity (a little over two drugs per prescription)—a change which is suggestive of a passage from the medical practice of the town to that of the Malay village. Polypharmacy reaches its height in a prescription for smallpox, which contains 29 ingredients. The names of the plants belong to many languages, a fact which suggests that the author lived in a port—not improbably, for reasons given, Penang.

The munshi's translation, of which the authors have acted as editors, was by no means free from errors; these, however, are exposed by the happy circumstance that transliterated Malay has been freely inserted in the translation. The prescriptions number 543; examples, taken quite at random, are the following (the Malay names are omitted):—

> 88. Sections to explain medicines for numbness of the feet.
>
> In the first place, take about a cupful of milk of a black goat, and a very small cupful of honey. Mix. Drink this on three consecutive mornings.
>
> 89. Should this fail.
>
> Now take pure gold and pure silver. Rub each three times on a stone with honey. Then mix this honey with the aforesaid preparation of milk (88). Warm it slightly and then drink it.
>
> 169. A section to explain a medicine for breaking up bad blood in the body. Also for removing winds; easing sinews; and clearing the head. Taken after parturition this medicine brings virtue to the blood.
>
> Take the yolk of a black fowl's egg; honey, the egg-shellful; juice expressed from the fresh rhizome of *Languas Galanga* (galingale) the egg-shellful; and milk of a green coco-nut, the egg-shellful. Beat these well together. Drink this for seven days, and all the complaints will be cured.

The translation is followed by a useful Glossary and Index of fifty-five pages, giving notes on the identifications of the numerous plants and on certain other medicaments, and explanations of the meanings of the Malay names, in fuller fashion than can be done in the text. Though vegetable remedies preponderate, both animal and mineral substances are also employed. The whole forms a valuable and interesting contribution to our knowledge of native medical practice in Malaya, and may be compared with *Malay Village Medicine*, by I. H. Burkill and Mohamed Haniff, recently reviewed in these pages. Together these two

works will provide the student of comparative medicine, and of comparative culture, with most of what he will require to know of Malayan medicine. The authors are to be heartily congratulated on the result of their labour.

J. STEPHENSON.

MEIN WERDEN UND MEIN WIRKEN. Erinnerungen eines alten Berliner Gelehrten, von ADOLF ERMAN. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$, pp. viii + 295, pls. 10. Leipzig: Verlag von Quelle and Meyer, 1929. M. 12.

There is no doubt that Adolf Erman is the most prominent figure in the Science of Egyptology on the continent at the present moment, and his works have acquired world-wide renown. In them he has dealt with hieroglyphic and demotic writing, grammar and special details thereof, Egyptian texts, including legends and tales, literature in general, history, religion, manners, and customs. Many of these have been translated into English, and have attained universal notice and approval.

So far, the learned world has read but little concerning the man himself, and that is apparently the main reason of the present publication. Born 75 years ago, he has seen many changes both in the life of his own people and in the peoples of the world, as well as in their relations with each other. But just as important from a scientific standpoint is the advance made in the knowledge of Egyptian and the nature of their wonderful and mysterious language and history. As the enumeration of his books on these subjects shows, he has taken no small part in the working out of this progress. It is evident that in this study he has not come to the end of his career, and all scholars will look for further contributions from his hand.

There is so much to speak about in this book, that one cannot notice in full the publishers' introductory details of the

author's career (printed rather badly in imitation typewriter-characters). This naturally gives the estimation in which Adolf Erman is held in his own country, and forms an interesting addition to the autobiography. In this we are reminded that his services in Egyptology have earned for him the reward Pour le Mérite, and that in this book he reveals himself to us not so much as the earnest student as the amiable and humorous gossip who knows how to appreciate men and things. He is in the first rank as a scholar who knew all the most prominent men of the last hundred years. We see distinguished names like those of Humboldt, Bissel, Chamisso, and others, closely connected with Erman's fate, and his house became one of the centres of Berlin's learned world. With a true master-hand he depicts the many-sided life of the imperial capital.

The work is divided into books, in which he speaks of his family, his childhood and schools, his youthful activities, concerning his Museum days, and his work as an Egyptologist. He is a descendant of a branch of the old family of Ermatiger, also called Ermantinger, from Ermatinger on the Bodensee, where they probably cultivated vineyards. The Ermans could not claim to be pure-blooded Germans, as there had been among his ancestors three of French nationality and one Jew. This leads him to remark that purity of race is not an advantage, but rather the contrary (as other writers and thinkers have already pointed out), and it may also be added that a common language does not produce unity in different races even when they occupy the same tract. Erman therefore acknowledges with joy his French and Jewish ancestry.

His earliest schooldays were passed in what is called a "Klippschool", but this institution has no blessing from his lips. He had not learnt industry and attention there, and the French Gymnasium, which he attended later, was not the place to gain these virtues. This Gymnasium he entered in 1864, and he seems to have found himself in a very mixed company —a few of French origin and many Jews, not of the best class.

Of these and certain Roumanian students Erman gives interesting details.

But naturally Professor Erman's Egyptological work is the most interesting, and it is to this that we must turn, not forgetting the learned men with whom he came into contact. In dealing with this I feel that I cannot do better than quote some of his remarks upon the subject which became his speciality. Champollion, as we all know, deciphered the hieroglyphics, but, as he points out, the knowledge of a writing is not of much use if we do not know the language. In this case it must be confessed that Egyptian differs greatly from old Persian and Assyrian, for the only aid the first students of Egyptian had was Coptic, a tongue which was not well understood. More than 2,000 years separate Coptic from the classical speech of the Egyptians, and of fifty words in the old tongue hardly two or three exist in Coptic. The grammar also is so different that it seems almost like another language.

It was probably owing to this that it was not at first recognized that the hieroglyphics used as letters were wholly consonantal, like those of the purely Semitic alphabets, though in this generalization we ought probably to exclude Ethiopic. It is owing to this that the old system of transcription was abandoned and that of letters of our own alphabets, interspersed with what look like diacritic marks, adopted. However scientific this latter may be, it cannot be regarded as in every sense practical, as many words consist of these diacritic marks only, unaccompanied by any vowel to make them pronounceable.

He does not deny that he has often asked himself, both now and in his younger days, what the study of Egyptian had brought him—whether it was a profitable thing to sacrifice his life to that study. Such doubts, however (he says), have not been of long duration, and he has always thanked his fate that his childish enthusiasm led him to undertake that task. The discoveries made have quite transformed the world's

views of the history of that country, just as the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions has transformed our views of the history of Babylonia and Assyria. It has also placed the Israelites in their true position as a small state situated between two great civilizations—the culture of the Egyptians and the Assyro-Babylonians. This is undoubtedly a sufficient reward for all the pains which we have taken to find out what has existed in the past, and it all adds to the glory of man's Creator, who placed within his brain the power of unriddling such things and profiting by the learning he gained.

There is no doubt that Erman is right in criticizing the earlier Egyptologists. Discouraged, possibly, by the little help which the study of Coptic gave them, they had neglected that language, which, as Erman points out, would have helped them, not by providing words for comparison, words descended from the old language, but by supplying them with those metaphors and, possibly, shades of meaning which they needed for successful work. He develops this section of his book by referring to Ebers and his Egyptian novels, that which bears the title of *Uarda* furnishing him with the best illustration of his criticism. In this book Ebers introduces a poet named Pentaur, but Erman shows that this is incorrect—there was no poet of that name. He adds that the copy we possess was simply one which had been written out by an Egyptian student of old time, Pentawēre, and there are mistakes in his copy, possibly because he was only a beginner. We owe to this student, however, the exceedingly interesting and important account of the battle fought by Rameses II and his army at Kadesh.[1]

The dramatization of Eber's *Uarda* seems to have popularized the study of things Egyptian, but Erman doubts whether this was really an advantage or not. He seems to be of the opinion that romance was connected in the minds of the public with this ancient people because they had remained unchanged

[1] See Erman, *The Literature of the ancient Egyptians*, translated by Aylward L. Blackman; London, 1927.

and were a nation of pious worshippers interested only in temples and tombs. This idea, however, existed no longer, having been lost because they realized that the Egyptians had always been human beings like ourselves. This may have been the case in Germany, but upon this point the German literary world is best able to pronounce an opinion—in Great Britain, it seems to me, the people have never doubted that the Egyptians were a great nation, and though possessing strange opinions in art, manners, customs, and religious belief, men in the true sense of the word.

Concerning novels based upon historical events, there seems to have been a prejudice against them in Germany, and this is not to be wondered at, when we remember how free even novelists of repute have been with the events of the time with which they dealt. Nevertheless, such compositions could be made useful accessories of education.

Erman's remarks about Maspéro as a historian are worth reading. He seems not to have had a very good opinion of his work, and his opinion of the French scholar's pupils are still more unfavourable. Possibly they did want to work too quickly, and were therefore untrustworthy. We may neglect, however, the bet which is said to have been made by certain young French Egyptologists as to which of them should copy funeral inscriptions quickest.

As one of the lesser lights in my own speciality, I should like to say a word for my own countrymen. As long as I can remember, we have never been without Egyptologists. Englishmen have never had the reputation abroad of being great scholars, but if this estimate of their attainments across the Channel be true, their inferiority is certainly due to want of encouragement. During the period when Egyptology in England was *brach*, "fallow," I imagine that there were Egyptologists notwithstanding. The following may be mentioned among the earlier contemporaries of the late Dr. S. Birch: C. W. Goodwin, M.A., Professor J. L. Lushington, Sir Peter Lepage Renouf, Eugene L. Roy, Samuel Sharp, and

Joseph Bonomi, a noteworthy copyist of Egyptian texts, etc. When one looks at old work of a learned nature one always finds blunders, and books are always being brought up to date.

But *Mein Werden und mein Wirken—Erinnerungen eines alten Berliner Gelehrten*, by Adolf Erman, is a work of absorbing interest, and will be read eagerly by many who are not Egyptologists. Several well-known English names are to be found therein—Boylan, Sir Wallis Budge, who first pointed out the nature of the Book of Proverbs of Amenemope, and Sir Flinders Petrie, whose discoveries at Amarna seemed a revelation. Crum and Professor A. H. Gardiner are also referred to as enthusiastic students who had attended lectures in Germany.

T. G. PINCHES.

MATERIALIEN ZUR KUNDE DES BUDDHISMUS, hrsg. von M. WALLESER. 14. AKṢARA-ÇATAKAM, the hundred letters, a Madhyamaka text by Āryadeva, after Chinese and Tibetan materials translated by V. GOKHALE; pp. 24. 15. THE NYĀYAMUKHA OF DIGNĀGA, after Chinese and Tibetan materials, by G. TUCCI; pp. 72. 16. THE MAN AND THE WORD, by Mrs. C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS; pp. 8. Heidelberg: In Kommission bei O. Harrassowitz, Leipzig. 17. ZUR LEHRE VOM BEWUSSTSEIN (Vijñānavāda) bei den späteren Buddhisten, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Laṅkāvatārasūtra von E. WOLFF; pp. 90. Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1930. M. 7.20.

Dr. Gokhale has translated the *Akṣaraśataka* and its commentary from the Chinese version (Nanjio, 1254), and has compared the Tibetan version. In the Tibetan it is attributed to Nāgārjuna, but Dr. Gokhale concludes that the text is by Āryadeva and the commentary by one of his pupils. He also gives a reconstruction of the Sanskrit of the text, which makes

up three memorial verses in ārya metre. The argument is chiefly directed against the soul-theory of Sāṃkhya and Vaiśeṣika, and according to Dr. Gokhale foreshadows the philosophic attitude of the Yogācāras.

Dr. Tucci continues his invaluable work of making the sources of Indian logic accessible to the historians of Indian philosophy. The *Nyāyamukha* consists of a series of kārikās and a commentary dealing with the five-membered syllogism and its fallacies, and Dr. Tucci has enriched his translation with valuable elucidations and extracts from the Tibetan of Dignāga's *Pramāṇasamuccaya* and its *vṛtti*.

Mrs. Rhys Davids finds that Sakyan (i.e. early Buddhist) thought put forward an " unworthing of the man ", but that there were other new valuations which lifted the man-in-man to a " more-worth ". Such instances are the terms *gotrabhu* and *satti*, but most of all *bodhisattva*. These, and especially the meanings they developed, are indeed far from early Buddhist thought, and this tracing of the development of new words and meanings by such an authority evidently deserves the closest consideration.

The work of Dr. Wolff is at first rather puzzling. In a discussion on Vijñānavāda we expect something about *ālayavijñāna*, and in fact on p. 81 he tells us that before going on to discuss this subject, " bevor ich zur Darstellung des Ālayavijñāna übergehe," he will give some general remarks on *saṃsāra*. But with these remarks his work concludes. There is nothing more except Anhang and bibliography. The work seems as if it must be the first part of a dissertation insufficiently revised. As it stands it consists of two parts, a historical introduction and a systematic portion, which consists of passages translated from chapter II of the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* dealing with the terms *śūnyatā*, *paramārtha*, *nirvāṇa*, *pariniṣpanna*, *paratantra*, *parikalpita*, and *māyā*. Each passage is followed by the Tibetan text of one of the commentaries with a translation and an " Interpretationsversuch ".

It is surprising to find how often he gives modern authorities, Keith, Strauss, Farquhar, Eliot, etc., for his statements, when what we want is a reference to an original source. We are told that the followers of Rāmānuja called their opponents *prachannabauddha*, and it would be of use to know who actually said it, but we are referred to an article by L. de la Vallée Poussin, and are further told that this scholar refers to Garbe's index to the *Sāṃkhyapravacanabhāṣya*. He tells us that Farquhar says that Buddha in the *Lotus* "wields magic power, māyā ". What good is it to be told that Farquhar says so? It appears to be through depending on Schrader that he has discovered a sect called Ajñānikas founded by Sañjaya Belaṭṭhī (*sic*). Nevertheless, we shall look forward with interest to what he has to say about *ālayavijñāna*.

E. J. THOMAS.

INTRODUCTION À L'ASTRONOMIE NAUTIQUE ARABE. Par GABRIEL FERRAND, Ministre Plénipotentionaire. 10 × 6, pp. xii + 272. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1928. 14*s.* 6*d.*

The present volume constitutes the first of a series of works under the editorship of M. Ferrand to make accessible to a wider circle of students the works of the ancient Arabic geographers. The learned author had previously published in facsimile two volumes containing the nautical almanacks, if we may call them thus, of Ibn Mājid and Sulaiman al-Mahrī based upon manuscripts preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale. These two volumes, which are of the highest importance for understanding the navigation of the Indian Ocean and adjacent seas in the Middle Ages, are, however, a practically sealed book to all scholars except the very few who may combine a knowledge of astronomy and the Arabic language. Even then the subject remains obscure on account of the nature of these almanacks, and the author has rendered a signal service to science by composing this introductory

volume, as without it the translation of the works of Ibn Mājid and al-Mahrī would require a perpetual commentary.

We can only be too grateful to the author for re-publishing the articles of James Prinsep—which appeared as long ago as 1836 in the *JASB.*—on the nautical instruments used by native mariners reaching the port of Calcutta, as also a shorter article by Captain Congreve, which appeared in the *Madras Journal of Literature* in 1850, because they give us a good idea of the manner in which native mariners found their bearings. A knowledge of these primitive instruments enables us in addition to obtain a knowledge of the manner in which they computed the latitudes in which they sailed.

From pp. 31–127 follows a reprint of the article upon the wind-rose and the invention of the compass by Leopold de Saussure, reprinted from the *Archives des Sciences Physiques* Geneva, 1923, in which the author establishes the dependence of the Chinese wind-rose upon the Erano-Indian one, but finds that the Arabic one rather differed and dated back to times before the polarity of the magnet had become known. The mariners were in those early times compelled to use a sideral rose on which were marked the names of the stars as they obtained the Azimut with the corresponding stars on the opposite side of the sky.

The commentary upon the Nautical Instructions of Ibn Mājid and al-Mahrī which follows (pp. 129–75) explains the manner in which the Arab mariners by the use of the sideral rose ascertained the exact position of the Polaris as far as it was possible by such method. That it goes back much further than the times of any written records as to the manner of ascertaining the Polaris for navigation is proved by the much earlier works upon the Nau's of the stars, which point to the existence of such knowledge certainly in the first century of the Hijra and the Kitāb al-Azmina of Marzūqī (if more correctly printed—Haidarabad) would give some additional information.

The last portion of the volume is devoted to precise

meaning of the title "Mu'allim", i.e. "Pilot", and his duties and obligations, the biographies of Ibn Mājid and Sulaiman al-Mahrī. The former has been identified with the pilot who conducted the fleet of Vasco de Gama from Malindi on the coast of Africa to Calicut in India, a point of great historical significance. The biographies are followed by a description of the manuscripts used, or to be used, for the translation, as an additional copy has been found in Damascus. The volume closes with an account and appreciation of the Turkish admiral Sīdī 'Alī and his work *al-Muḥīṭ*, in which he has incorporated the work of Ibn Mājid without making any material changes and additions.

Our library in Aligarh lacking not only the volumes of the text of Ibn Mājid and al-Mahrī but most works of reference, I am unable to check any doubts which have arisen in my mind.

I have found a few misprints and I cannot agree with نسيم meaning "une très petite quantité" and propose that it is only a clerical error for يسير, which means "very little", and we need not add another word to the Arabic dictionary.

Page 110, note 3, read Ibṭ al-Jawzā'.

Page 136, line 13, read aš-Šawla.

The work in itself is a monument of erudition and an almost inexhaustible source of information both for the historian of nautical matters and for the early history of astronomy.

F. Krenkow.

Mesopotamian Origins: the Basic Population of the Near East. By E. A. Speiser. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 12*s*. 6*d*.

Professor Speiser has published a learned and interesting book, full of new facts and new light. His work at Nuzi near Kerkuk and the Tepe Gawra near Khorsabad has revealed

to us a new world of archæological facts and full use is accordingly made of them, though the book is mainly philological rather than archæological. His conclusions are summed up on page 173, where he writes: "The basic stock of the area which extends from eastern Anatolia to Elam, and also of the adjoining plains of the south, consisted of the people from whom the Hurrians and the Elamites were descended. That group formed a branch of the so-called Alpine race, and spoke a language whose nearest relations must be sought in the modern Caucasus. Culturally it was characterized, in very early times, by the production of painted pottery and by the application of the knowledge of metallurgy." By the "Hurrians" (or "Khurrians") Dr. Speiser means the non-Semitic population of north-western Mesopotamia, whose name I should rather write Murrians.

On the philological side the author has to depend mainly on the evidence of proper names, more especially geographical ones. Such evidence, unfortunately, has to be used with caution, as geographical names more especially do not obey phonetic laws and are apt to change beyond recognition. The larger the field of comparison, however, the greater is the chance of correctness in the conclusions, particularly where terminations or suffixes are concerned. And in a few cases the evidence of the proper names can be supplemented by words and grammatical forms.

Whether we agree with him or not Professor Speiser's conclusions are always stimulating or suggestive. It is needless to say, however, that there are several of them which are more or less disputable. His interpretation of the phrase applied to the Sumerians that they were a "black-headed" race is certainly wrong; common sense alone would teach that a "black head" refers to hair and not to the colour of the body. As to the contrasted term *namru*, *bûnu namru* is simply "a fair child", while *damqu* I should render "in fair health". The "black heads" imply that there was another and presumably older part of the population which

was not "black-headed"; a Sumerian text published by Professor Langdon states that the pre-Sumerian inhabitants of the Babylonian plain were Murrû or Amorites, and we know from the Egyptian paintings that the Amorites were blondes with fair hair.

"Haldian," that is to say Vannic, again, may have been related to "Hurrian", by which Professor Speiser means Mitannian, and in fact probably was so, but it was certainly not "closely related" as he states. Nor has Tseretheli by any means proved that *u* and *a* were "indicative" of the first and third persons of the Vannic verb. And I very much doubt whether the form Mitanni "goes back to an older Maiteni"; it is more probable that the converse was the case. The statement moreover on p. 5 that "the Hamitic and Semitic types are representative of the Mediterranean race" must be corrected. Sergi's "Mediterranean race" has nothing to do with the purely philological Hamitic and Semitic families of speech; a considerable proportion of the Jews are brachycephalic, and Hamitic languages are spoken by Negroid tribes.

A. H. Sayce.

P. G. von Moellendorf: Ein Lebensbild von R. von Moellendorf. 9 × 6, pp. 166, pls. 20. Leipzig: Otto Harrossowitz, 1930. 10 mks.

Paul Georg von Moellendorf was born in 1847 in Zedenik in der Uckermark and in 1869 proceeded to China to enter the Customs Service under Sir Robert Hart. His life during the eventful years which followed was full of variety and interest. Leaving the Customs he pursued what had been his original plan and entered the German Consular Service; leaving this again he entered the service of the Chinese Viceroy, Li Hung-Chang, and was despatched to Korea to open a Customs service there. He describes the post he was to fill in the following words: "Ueber eine Stunde bei Li, der wirklich sehr herzlich und liebenswürdig war und mir mitteilte, dass

er mir einen Posten geben wolle, der mir viel Ehre und Geld einbringen werde, ich solle Korea, das bis dahin für die Fremden eifersüchtig abgeschlossene Land, dem europäischen Handel eröffnen, ich solle Ratgeber des Königs von Korea werden und Chef, Generalzollinspektor des einzurichtenden Seezollamtes und wolle ich nach einigen Jahren nach China zurückkehren, dann wolle er mir eine Stellung geben, wie sie noch kein Europäer vor mir gehabt habe. Meine Anstellung solle ich erhalten, sobald ein amtliches Schreiben vom König von Korea eingetroffen sei." Although he did not remain long in Korea, as he re-joined the Chinese Customs Service, Dr. von Moellendorf endeared himself to the King and Queen, who in later years continually begged that he return. He saw in Korea a facet of life which has been unveiled to few Europeans, and one which has now vanished.

The book before us, edited by his widow, consists of extracts from Dr. von Moellendorf's diary and throws many sidelights upon an interesting page of history. It contains, moreover, a list of his many important linguistic works and several unpublished essays.

FLORENCE AYSCOUGH.

CHINA: EINE LANDES- UND VOLKSKUNDE. VON DR. GEORG WEGENER O. Professor der Geographie an der Handelschule. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 230. Berlin. Mit 30 Abbildungen auf 16 Tafeln und 22 Textskizzen. Leipzig und Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1930. 12 mks.

In this slim but useful volume Dr. Wegener describes in outline the land, the people, and the history of China. Being a geographer, he devotes the first third of the book to an excellent study of the "real" China, its mountains and streams; its frontiers and internal divisions; its soil and the treasure under the soil. In less than a hundred pages the historical development of the people from mythical times is given, and the remaining one hundred and fifty pages are devoted to

International Relations and the recent Revolutionary Movement.

The division is of course unbalanced, but unavoidably so. The world is more concerned with present-day China and her evolution, chaotic as it may seem, than it is with the long course of events from which old China evolved. In its way the book is a masterpiece. Condensation, and yet the preservation of many essentials, result in a clear and consecutive narrative. It is, however, discouraging to find the so-called "Opium War" discussed in the old mistaken way; and surprising that a scholar, who should have studied the documents in question, who should know that in the treaty made at the close of that unfortunate war, the word "opium" was not even mentioned, can yet write a sentence such as the following: "Denn wie auch im einzelnen der Verlauf der Dinge gewesen ist, es lässt sich nicht aus der Welt schaffen, dass England China mit Waffengewalt die Zulassung der Opium einfuhr aufgezwungen hat," etc., etc.

Each student regards the history of China and her International Relations from a different standpoint, but facts are facts and should not be misrepresented. In my opinion Dr. Wegener lays insufficient stress on the difficulties caused to International intercourse by the Chinese system of justice; nor does he properly emphasize the importance (in its result upon the evolution of ancient China) of the former educational system with its regularly recurrent examination.

A serious blemish upon a most useful book of reference is the lack of an index.

FLORENCE AYSCOUGH.

DER GESETZMÄSSIGE LEBENSLAUF DER VÖLKER CHINAS UND JAPANS. Von HARTMUT PIPER. 9½ × 6, pp. xv + 110. Leipzig: Theodor Weicher, 1929.

This volume constitutes Division II, Part I, of the work *Die Gesetze der Weltgeschichte* by the same author.

Division I, in five parts, is devoted to the "Vergleichend Völkerbiographie Europas". This is an amazingly interes ing work, in which for the first time the laws which hav governed the evolution of Europe, have been applied to th evolution of the Far East.

As it is impossible to review in a short notice this epoch making book (which should be read by every student o history, Western or Eastern), a short analysis of its conten is here given.

The three main divisions are as follows :—

(i) Die protochinesische Kultur: Völkerwanderung d Hsia.

(ii) Die antike chinesische Kultur: Völkerwanderung d Chou.

(iii) Die moderne chinesische Kultur.

(iv) Die japanische Kultur.

A Bibliography, Index, and Appendix, which latter consis of a short statement regarding "Der gesetzmässige Lebensla der Völker Europas", bring the book to its close. These ma divisions are each subdivided into seven parts :—

(1) Patriarchalische Monarchie der Kindheit.
(2) Aristokratie der Jugend.
(3) Absolutismus der Frühreife.
(4) Konstitutionalismus der Vollreife.
(5) Imperialismus der Spätreife.
(6) Cäsarismus des Alters.
(7) Marasmus des Greisentums.

Dr. Piper uses a quotation from Goethe as the keynote of h work; it reads:

Das Ew'ge regt sich fort in allen;
Doch alles muss in nichts zerfallen,
Wenn es im Sein beharren will . . . .
Das Sein ist ewig; denn Gesetze
Bewahren die lebend'gen Schätze,
Aus welchen sich das All geschmückt.

The laws which preserve "eternal Being" have operated in the East as in the West, and by studying their course one comprehends the development of Japan and understands dimly "dass erst durch diese völkerbiologische Deutung besonders die chinesischen Geschichte einschliesslich der gegenwärtigen Wirren aus einem Chaos sinnloser Menschenschalächtereien und Dynastiewechsel in den Kosmos einer sinnvollen organischen Völkerentwicklung verwandelt wird."

FLORENCE AYSCOUGH.

WORTE MAHĀVĪRAS. Kritische Übersetzungen aus dem Kanon der Jaina von WALTHER SCHUBRING. (Quellen der Religionsgeschichte, Gruppe 7.) $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$, pp. ix + 152. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht: and Leipzig, 1927.

Dr. Schubring has rendered an important service to the study of Jainism and its language and literature by the publication of this volume. He presents in it careful and well-annotated translations from some of the earliest Jain scriptures—more or less "Worte Mahāvīras", as he styles them—namely Sūyagaḍa, i, 1–4 and 12, ii, 1–2, and some Bambhacēras, which give forcible expression to the ideals and teachings of Jainism; and to these he has prefixed a masterly introduction on the Canon of the Śvētâmbaras, in which he critically traces the development of its elements and examines the *Lehrpersönlichkeit* of Mahāvīra, as it is revealed in them. The book is a work of exact and penetrating scholarship, of a quality that unfortunately is becoming somewhat rare in these days.

L. D. BARNETT.

Samkhya and Modern Thought, by T. Ghosh, reviewed on p. 182 of January, 1931, *Journal*, is published in London by Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd.

OBITUARY NOTICE

Theodor Nöldeke

On Christmas Day of last year Theodor Nöldeke, one of the greatest Orientalists that ever lived, who was elected an Honorary Member of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1890, ended a long career of ceaseless labour. Of the external events of his life little need here be said. He was born on 2nd March, 1836, at Harburg, which then belonged to the kingdom of Hanover. He studied at Göttingen, became Professor at Kiel in 1868, and in 1872 was appointed to a Professorship at Strassburg in Alsace, where he continued to reside till some months after the end of the Great War; from that time onwards he lived with some of his relatives at Karlsruhe. In his old age he suffered much from ill-health, but he retained his mental vigour till the very last.

To convey any adequate idea of the services which he rendered to linguistic and historical science is quite impossible, for his researches extended over an almost unlimited field and in every subject that he treated he proved himself a consummate master. From the first he took a special interest in the Old Testament. A collection of popular essays on Hebrew literature which appeared in 1868 was followed by an important contribution to Biblical criticism "Untersuchungen zur Kritik des alten Testaments" (1869). Here, as in all his later works, he combines great acuteness with a remarkable caution and sobriety of judgment. Thus in dealing with the critical analysis of the Pentateuch he warns his readers against the notion that it is *always* possible to distinguish the various sources with certainty. Much, he says, remains doubtful; moreover, we have no reason whatever to suppose that the text has come down to us unaltered and that we can ascertain the precise wording and spelling of the original authors (p. 5, foot-note). Similar warnings,

it is needless to say, have since been uttered by many other writers of the critical school. With regard to the modern theory which assigns the so-called Priestly Code to the post-exilic period—a theory usually associated with the name of Wellhausen—it is to be noted that Nöldeke for many years regarded it with suspicion and only after long hesitation accepted it as substantially correct (see the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. xxi [1908], p. 203, foot-note).

The greater part of his life was devoted to Arabic and Aramaic literature, and in both of these departments he produced an immense amount of valuable work. It was one of his favourite maxims that the scientific study of languages must always be combined with the study of history, of religion, and of general culture. Hence in his writings even the most strictly technical details of philology acquire a human interest. It may be doubted whether any European scholar was ever better acquainted with ancient Arabic poetry than he was, and he treated it not merely as a repertory of rare words and peculiar grammatical forms but also as vividly illustrating the history and customs of the time. Of his numerous contributions to the study of Islām it is superfluous to speak, as they are probably the best known of all his writings, but it is interesting to record that having in his younger days planned a work on the early Muhammadan Empire he at length abandoned the project chiefly from a sense of his inability to give a satisfactory account of the Prophet's character (see the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol. xxi, p. 298, foot-note).

Among the greatest of his achievements must be reckoned the discovery of the true relation of the various Aramaic dialects to one another. Eighty years ago the most confused notions on this subject prevailed even among genuine scholars, as is shown by the fact that the Aramaic of the Old Testament was still believed to be a language which the Jews imported from Babylonia; hence the misleading term "Chaldee". It was one of Nöldeke's merits finally to dispel this and many

similar delusions. His Aramaic studies included even the most obscure sources of information, not only the inscriptions of heathen Syria but also the literature of the Mandæans which, as he himself says in the Introduction to his "Mandäische Grammatik" (1875), is "full of the greatest nonsense". Nevertheless, he adds, this literature and the dialect in which it is written are of vast importance from a scientific point of view. Accordingly he spent years in the elucidation of these strange compositions, little suspecting that half a century later the Mandæans and their religion would suddenly become objects of interest to European theologians and that serious attempts would be made to connect the Fourth Gospel with the "nonsense" of the *Sidrā Rabbā*.

He was likewise a diligent student of Æthiopic and the modern languages of Abyssinia. In his *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (1910) will be found a most instructive dissertation on the words which passed from Æthiopic into Arabic and *vice versa*; among these expressions are some which play an important part in Muhammadan theology, and as their real origin was naturally unknown to the Arabs they were often wrongly interpreted by Muslims.

His profound knowledge of Persian literature, from the earliest times to the present day, is proved by many of his works, in particular by his *Persische Studien* (1888–92) and his masterly treatise on the *Shahnāmah* of Firdausī, *Das iranische Nationalepos* (2nd edn., 1920). It is characteristic of his mind, in which the critical faculty always predominated, that in the preface to his *Aufsätze zur persischen Geschichte* (1887) he expresses himself thus:— "Vielleicht befremdet Manchen, dass ich im Ganzen die Orientalen und namentlich die Perser nicht allzu günstig beurtheile. Mich haben eben meine orientalischen Studien immer mehr zum Griechenfreunde gemacht, und ich denke, so wird es ziemlich Jedem gehn, der mit Ernst aber mit

unbefangenem Sinn das Wesen der orientalischen Völker kennen zu lernen sucht."

This notice would be singularly defective if stress were not laid on the extraordinary amiability of his nature. No scholar was ever more ready to assist others, and the promptitude with which he responded to requests for information on all manner of subjects was a constant wonder to his numerous friends.

A. A. BEVAN.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

The Story of the Sind

The Indian Conference is occupying men's minds, and at the present moment one of the burning questions is connected with the Province of Sind. At a lecture, illustrated with lantern slides, given before the Royal Asiatic Society on 15th January, at the rooms of the Society, 74 Grosvenor Street, W. 1, Mr. P. R. Cadell, formerly Commissioner in Sind, recounted the story of that Province. He pointed out that its position in the extreme west, and its isolation from the rest of India by deserts, had rendered it more accessible to Western invasion than the remainder of the subcontinent. The discoveries at Mohen-jo-daro show it to have been the scene of the Indus valley civilization, which dates back to 3000 B.C., and by far the oldest of which there is any record in India. It is closely connected with the Sumerian culture. The invasion of Alexander the Great and his departure from India has supplied a historical connection with ancient Europe, shared only with the Punjab. It formed a portion of the Persian Empires of the Achaemenids and the Sassanians, and, in modern times, of Nadir Shah. Sind was the scene of the first Moslem invasion of India, and was a Moslem Province for three hundred years before the followers of that religion conquered any other part of India. After various periods of semi-independence, mingled with subjection more or less complete to the rulers of Delhi, it passed once more into the dominions of an outside Asiatic power in the rulers of Afghanistan. The story of its final incorporation with British India was briefly told. The lecturer indicated the differences of population and culture which connection with outside powers, and numerous invasions of other races, had created between Sind and the rest of India. Its likeness to Egypt, and its dependence on a system of irrigation which

had been reorganized and extended since the British occupation, were explained. Finally the conclusions which might be drawn from its past history, when applied to the demand for the formation of Sind into a separate Province, were indicated.

The Dragon of China

A lecture was given on 12th February before the Royal Asiatic Society, at the rooms of the Society, 74 Grosvenor Street, W. 1, by Professor the Rev. W. E. Soothill, Professor of Chinese at Oxford University.

Professor Soothill's connection with China is of long standing, and he has written numbers of books connected with that country, its religion, history, and literature; he compiled the Wenchow romanized system. He also established churches, hospitals, colleges, and schools. He was President of the Imperial University of Shansi Province for four years, and holds the 2nd Rank Red Button and the 3rd Rank Order of Wenhu.

The lecturer said that no symbol is so prominently associated with China as the dragon. There it is found everywhere, and here it is seen on a multitude of articles imported from that land—porcelains, brocades, carpets, carving, bronze, jade, and many other articles. It is especially the emblem of royalty, the dragon robe, dragon throne, dragon countenance, dragon pen, and so on through many attributes and instruments of royalty. It has been associated with the emperor for at least four thousand years. Whatever dynastic changes may have occurred, the dragon has remained supreme, until at length it was ruthlessly deposed in 1912.

What did the Chinese see in this creature of the slime to make it ruler over them? Was it a dinosaur, or a mere crocodile which was elevated to emblazon a throne? Certainly it was always associated with moisture, in this respect being unlike its western compeer, which is represented as belching forth smoke and fire. Again, in China, it is always beneficent,

while the dragon of the west, for the most part, has been considered as maleficent, injuring the people, stealing princesses, and calling forth the heroism of, say, a St. George, for its destruction.

So different are the two conceptions that it would almost seem wiser to call them by different names, adopting the Chinese name Lung for their national benefactor. That the Lung is so considered is evident from the rejoicing evinced at the Dragon festival at the first full moon of the year, when immense sinuous dragons are carried about with enthusiasm, every one by a dozen or so brightly clad young men.

When it is borne in mind that the Lung is so closely connected with the rains and the beginning of spring, it is easy to understand why a nation of farmers should consider it as a benefactor. Some have supposed that it has been elevated to this high rank because the Saurian tribe hibernated in the cold and drought of winter, and only came forth in the spring for the sake of the rains. But we shall have to look away from the slime, the pool, the river, to find the origin of the Lung, at any rate as a royal emblem.

From the earliest recorded period the sovereign of China has been associated with the sky as veritable astronomer-royal. Down to our own day the Calendar and the worship of the supreme powers have been the prerogative of the emperor. In the most ancient records we find the dragon as part of the royal sacrificial robe, and in the course of the centuries the dragon became the chief symbol of the astronomical ruler. There is sufficient evidence to justify the belief that the dragon emblazoned on the imperial robe is Draco, the constellation which drags its length through the sky between Ursa Major and Ursa Minor. Moreover, it was because Draco appeared at dusk with its head towards the first full moon of the year that it became the harbinger of spring, and thus the benefactor of the people.

On the robes of state the sinuous dragon is generally depicted

with round ball in front of its open jaws. The Chinese refer to this ball as "the Pearl", but may not the Pearl represent the full moon?

There is evidence for this point of view, but concomitant with it is the thought that, at a very much earlier date than is generally accepted, there must have been intercourse of some sort between the primitive Chinese astronomers and their fellows further west, where Draco was already a well-known constellation.

The Origins of English Trade with Persia, 1562–80

A lecture was delivered on Thursday afternoon, 12th March, at the rooms of the Society, 74 Grosvenor Street, W. 1, by Sir William Foster, Kt., C.I.E., entitled "Origins of Trade between England and Persia". Sir William has spent his official life at the India Office and is the leading authority on the history of the East India Company.

The lecturer described how the establishment of this trade was due to the efforts made in the middle of the sixteenth century to find new markets for English goods in the Far East, and to obtain in exchange spices and other Oriental products. Under the guidance of Sebastian Cabot ships were sent to discover a sea route to Cathay round the northern shores of Europe and Asia, and these ventures led to the establishment of commerce with Russia, by way of the White Sea, and the grant (1555) of a charter to a company formed in London to exploit this trade. On behalf of that body, Anthony Jenkinson made an expedition in 1558, from Moscow to Central Asia, hoping to find a practicable trade route to the Far East in that direction; but, after getting as far as Bokhara, he found this project hopeless and was forced to return. Four years later he left Moscow upon a fresh venture, this time for Northern Persia, with the idea of using that country as a half-way house for obtaining spices in return for English goods. He succeeded in establishing

commerce in the silk-producing province of Shirvan, lying to the south-west of the Caspian, and he managed also to reach Kazvin, then the capital of the Persian Shah; but he found that monarch indisposed to entertain his overtures, for fear of offending the Turkish Sultan by diverting trade from the dominions of the latter. In 1564, two members of the Russia Company's staff at Moscow followed in Jenkinson's footsteps, and returned with encouraging reports of the large quantity of raw silk to be obtained in Northern Persia, and of hopes of spices being brought thither from Hormuz, should a trade be firmly established. This led to the dispatch in the following year of a fresh expedition, one member of which visited Kazvin and obtained a grant of privileges from the Shah, now rendered complaisant by a rupture between him and the Turks. In 1568, a larger party of merchants set out from Moscow, and on reaching Shirvan extended their operations to Tabriz and the ports of Ghilan on the southern coast of the Caspian. A fifth venture was made the next year, when one of the merchants penetrated as far south as Kashan. The general result was, however, unfortunate, owing to the capture of the return cargo on the Caspian by some Cossack pirates. As a result, no further attempt was made until 1579. The members of this expedition were stopped at Astrakhan by news that the province of Shirvan had been devastated and conquered by the Turks; and although in the following spring they ventured as far as the neighbourhood of Baku, the intelligence there obtained showed that it was useless to venture into Persia itself. After buying from the Turkish general at Derbend part of his loot, they returned by way of Astrakhan to Moscow, and so to London. Their report convinced the Russia Company that further attempts to trade with Persia by this roundabout route were useless, especially in view of the fact that commercial relations had now been established with Turkey, and a Levant Company had been chartered (1581), which by its factories in Egypt and Syria seemed likely to obtain with ease both

the products of the Far East and the raw silk of Persia, the natural channel of which to Europe was via Aleppo. Hence attempts to open up direct intercourse with Persia were forborne for a generation, and were only renewed, this time with success, when the East India Company, having secured a footing in Western India, found it possible to open up communication by sea with southern Persia, and thus to inaugurate a lasting commerce between the two countries.

In future the annual List of Members will be published with the July *Journal*, instead of in April.

Members who wish to make any alteration in name, style, or address, are requested to send the fully corrected entry so as to reach the Secretary by 1st June.

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